This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

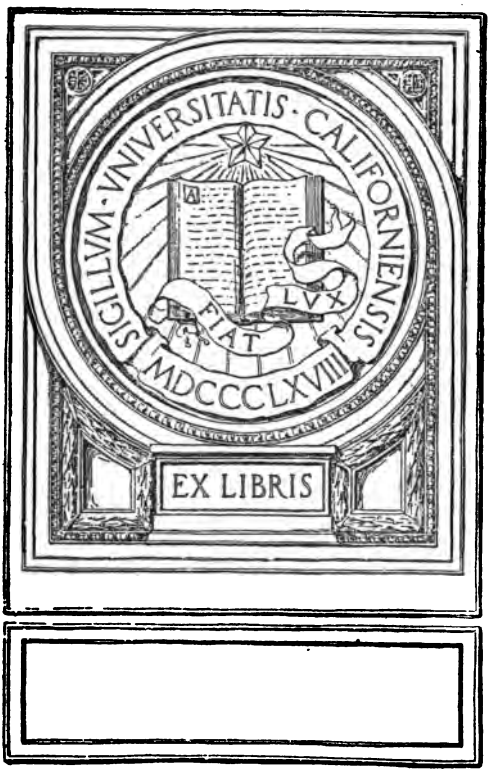
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

304 - 310

THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION

BY

FRANK JULIAN WARNE, A.M., PH.D.

SPECIAL EXPERT ON FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THIRTEENTH CENSUS: FORMER SECRETARY, NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION

AUTHOR OF "THE IMMIGRANT INVASION," ETC.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
NEW YORK LONDON
1916

JV6465
.W3

JV5126

COPYRIGHT, 1916, BY
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Flow of the Tide	1
II.	Sources of the Tide	13
III.	The Tidal Force	28
IV.	Two Views of the Tide	41
V.	Stimulated and Induced Immigration	54
VI.	"Birds of Passage"	63
VII.	The Ebb of the Tide	74
VIII.	Through the Tide Gates	84
IX.	Derelicts of the Tide	99
X.	The Tide's Flotsam and Jetsam	112
XI.	"The Undesirables"	123
XII.	Immigration and Social Progress	134
XIII.	Immigration's Tide-Rip	146
XIV.	The Immigrant and the Native Worker	160
XV.	Two Views of the Tide-Rip	170
XVI.	Some Effects of the Tide-Rip	179
XVII.	The Alien Contract Labor Law	192
XVIII.	Within the Tide Basin—Net Immigration	205
XIX.	Within the Tide Basin—Distribution	220
XX.	A Chapter from History	235
XXI.	Regulating the Immigration Tide	249
XXII.	The Literacy Test	263

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXIII.	The Three Vetoes	273
XXIV.	America's Traditional Policy	283
XXV.	Distribution as a Remedy	300
XXVI.	Immigration Restriction	313
XXVII.	Effects of the European War	327
XXVIII.	The Basis of a National Policy	342
XXIX.	Immigration and Assimilation	354
	Index	365

283
134

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

The Yearly Flow of the Immigration Tide since 1820. *Frontispiece*

PAGE

Immigration by Leading Countries 15

Total Immigration, 1914, Comparing Country and Race, . 25

Leading European Immigrating Peoples 26

Temporary Immigration and Temporary Emigration . . 70

The Annual Ebb of the Immigration Tide 76

The Annual Flow of Immigration the Past Thirty Years . 87

Total Annual Immigration, Showing Also Permanent and Temporary 89

Sex Distribution of Immigrants 14 to 44 Years of Age . . 93

The Spring and Autumn Flow of Immigration 97

Permanent Immigration in 1914 by Occupational Groups . 147

The Annual Flow and Ebb of Immigration and the Net Gain in Immigrants 206

Permanent Immigration by Ten-Year Periods Since 1825 . 212

Geographical Distribution of Immigrants by States, 1914 . 222

Immigration and the Southern States 231

Vote in House of Representatives on the Taft Veto of Immigration Bill 292

Vote in Senate on the Taft Veto of Immigration Bill . . 293

Vote in House of Representatives on the Wilson Veto of Immigration Bill 294

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER I

THE FLOW OF THE TIDE

THE great outpouring of the peoples of foreign countries and their inpouring into the United States, which for nearly a century now has been characterized as "immigration," is comparable in many of its aspects with manifestations of the mighty ocean tide. Like the waters of the ocean, this great human tide has its flow and its ebb, and these are as clearly subject to the laws of economic science as are the rise and fall of the ocean tide to the laws of physical science. So plainly is this movement of aliens to and from the shores of the United States in obedience to well known laws that its alternate rise and fall at well defined intervals in the course of the year can be foretold with almost the same degree of accuracy as the movement of the ocean tide. Knowledge of its other characteristics has likewise been secured through long and painstaking accuracy in observation and verification. Similar economic manifestations, repeated at intervals over a period of time, are also indicative of underlying forces or laws at work to produce them. Repetition has so often verified conclusions drawn that in regard to many phases

of the immigration tide the point of safe prophecy has been reached as to its future manifestations under given conditions.

Immigration has not only its spring tide and its annual ebb but also its neap tides, its flood tides, its tidal waves, and its overflows and inundations. It has its tide channels by means of which it gains entrance to this country. It has its tide gates, its tide-rip, its tide mills, its tide basin. There have developed tide tables and tide dials, and also tide gauges by means of which we are able to measure its volume at any particular time or over a period of years or decades; to learn of its racial, occupational, age, and sex composition; to know its geographical distribution within the country, and to become familiar with its other characteristics. First, as to the volume of this inpouring of peoples.

At the very outset of any attempt to measure the quantity of immigration we are confronted by the difficulty of persuading the mind to grasp completely its stupendous proportions. Although statistics help us to realize its magnitude, even at their best figures convey only a hazy and indefinite impression and do not enable us to comprehend fully the size of this immigration. Particularly is this true when the figures dealt with mount into the millions.

Have you ever painstakingly tried to form a mental concept of one million four hundred thousand people? Mathematically, of course, this number is one hundred times fourteen thousand.

It is fourteen times one hundred thousand. But even arithmetic does not enable us to picture to ourselves the real significance of this many people. This number represents all those born in some foreign country who came to the United States during the fiscal year preceding the outbreak of the European War. It is the largest total immigration of any year in our history excepting that of 1907. And yet it is only about one-tenth the total number of foreign born in the country at the taking of the last census, these numbering 13,500,000.

Thirteen million five hundred thousand men, women, and children! More than the total population of Korea! Nearly twice the entire population of Persia! And yet these comparisons do not help much in comprehending the multitudinous extent of our foreign-born population because not many of us know anything about Korea or Persia.

Thirteen million five hundred thousand people are four million five hundred thousand more than the population of both Ireland and Scotland.

If the source of our immigration were confined to these two countries, its volume of the single year 1914 would drain them of the last of their inhabitants within a little more than six years. If confined to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, it would depopulate these Scandinavian countries of their ten million inhabitants within little more than seven years. It would depopulate all of Mexico within less than ten years, Switzerland

within one year, and Greece within less than twelve months.

No single city in the history of the world ever contained thirteen million five hundred thousand inhabitants! Our largest city, New York, and probably, too, now the largest city in the world, has only one-third this many people. And New York really comprises a number of cities. Think of a foreign-born population sufficient in number to make three cities the size of New York!

Take our next largest city, Chicago, with a population in excess of two million. Our foreign-born population, if assembled in one place, would make six cities the size of Chicago! Let your imagination play on this statement. Think what it means! Six cities the size of Chicago with their miles upon miles of streets and thousands upon thousands of residences and stores and churches and saloons and factories and all that go to make up a large American city!

Thirteen million five hundred thousand people! According to the United States Bureau of the Census there are in this country fifty cities each with a population in excess of one hundred thousand. Excluding the two largest, New York and Chicago, to which reference has already been made, our foreign born are numerous enough to more than populate completely every one of the remaining forty-eight cities. This means that we have dwelling among us as large a number of persons born in some foreign country as is represented in the combined populations of Philadel-

phia, St. Louis, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Newark, New Orleans, Washington, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Jersey City, Kansas City, Seattle, Indianapolis, Providence, Louisville, Rochester, St. Paul, Denver, Portland, Columbus, Toledo, Atlanta, Oakland, Worcester, Syracuse, New Haven, Birmingham, Memphis, Scranton, Richmond, Paterson, Omaha, Fall River, Dayton, Grand Rapids, Nashville, Lowell, Cambridge, Spokane, Bridgeport, and Albany. Here are forty-eight of the principal cities of the United States and yet all of them together have not as large a number of inhabitants as that which immigration has given to this country at the present day!

Although there are recorded in the pages of history descriptions of the movements at different times of vast numbers of peoples from one geographical area to another, such as the historian delights in referring to as hordes or swarms and as "barbarians breaking in upon the empire," still there is not to be found a single account of the dislocation of peoples comparable in magnitude to this immigration of aliens to the United States. Until interrupted temporarily by the European War it had assumed such proportions as to have become the greatest movement of the largest number of peoples the world has ever known.

In 1854 the wave of permanent immigration for the first time reached and passed the 400,000 mark,

the arrivals that year numbering 428,000. In 1882 arriving immigrants for the first time in any one year exceeded 700,000 and all but reached the 800,000 mark, the immigrants coming here in those twelve months numbering 789,000. During the following twenty years immigration declined from this high-water mark, and it was not until 1903 that the number of yearly arrivals exceeded 800,000. In no single year since, except immediately following the outbreak of the European War, has our annual immigration fallen below this number. In 1905 it exceeded 1,000,000; in 1906 it passed the 1,100,000 and in 1907 the 1,200,000 marks; in 1913 and 1914 total annual immigration was exceeding 1,400,000. Prior to 1907 our records of alien arrivals account for those only who reported that they were coming here permanently and do not tabulate those arrivals who stated that they were here only temporarily; since that year the Government statistics of immigration account for all arriving immigrants.

During the ten years since 1905 nearly 12,000,000 foreign-born persons have landed in the United States, a yearly average of 1,200,000 arrivals. These alone form more than thirty-seven per cent. of all recorded immigration since 1820; they make up more than eighty-eight out of every one hundred of our present total foreign-born population.

Some conception of the annual flow of the immigration tide since 1820 is secured from a study of the frontispiece chart, which is compiled from

statistics of the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Government. The enormous increase during the years of the last several decades is strikingly indicated. Immigration has been in even larger volume than that which is indicated in the chart, as that takes account of permanent alien arrivals only, excluding those who come here temporarily and also those incoming foreign born who have been here before and have become citizens of the United States.

The volume of arriving aliens, separate and apart from all other aspects of the so-called immigration problem, is in itself an important phase of that problem. This is true to a much greater extent than the public has been persuaded to believe. It is plain that whatever evils accompany immigration, these must necessarily be magnified and made more serious in their effects the larger the number of arriving immigrants. If pauperism is regarded as an evil of immigration, then the larger the volume the greater is likely to be the injury resulting from pauperism. If criminality among aliens is an evil, then the greater the number of immigrants the more probable it is that there will be greater injury from this cause. If lowering the standard of living of the native and Americanized worker is a serious evil of immigration, then most assuredly the larger the number of immigrants competing for jobs and wages the greater the horrors of this evil. And so it is through all the particular aspects of the injurious effects of immigration. In

brief, the number of alien arrivals may be so large as to constitute by itself the one preëminent national menace to the stability and permanency of our society and our institutions. It may, in fact, become the principal aspect of immigration which should cause us to restrict or regulate the flow of aliens to our shores. It is the moving cause of that ever-growing and more fiercely contested conflict which for several years now has been before the Congress and the President of the United States for the enactment into law of the literacy-test provision for the restriction of immigration.

As regards the volume of the immigration current, Professor Henry P. Fairchild, of Yale University, in his book, *Immigration*, says: "The modern period has witnessed a continuation of the same general process which has been going on since 1820. The same succession of crests and depressions in the great wave has continued, the only difference being that the apex reached a much higher point than ever before. . . . The recent rapid development of communication has made the ease of immigration so great that we have been overwhelmed by the resulting problems. The movement of millions of people from one region to another is a phenomenon of prodigious sociological import."

In their book, *The Immigrant Problem*, which is a summary of the findings of the Federal Immigration Commission, Professors Jenks and Lauck state that "it is absolutely necessary to impose some limitations upon the numbers of im-

migrants who are rapidly entering the country" if we are "to establish firmly an American standard of work and living, to guarantee a proper distribution of the benefits of our marvelous natural resources and our wonderful industrial progress and at the same time to maintain the spirit of enterprise and the stimulation to industrial progress and efficiency." Continuing, these authors say: "Unless there is a restriction of immigration, the situation for the American industrial worker is not very promising. A policy of permanent or absolute exclusion is not imperative. All that is essential is to limit temporarily the number of incoming aliens so that the foreign workmen already in the country may be industrially assimilated and educated to the point where they will demand proper standards of living and will be constrained by the economic aspirations of the native American. If the existing influx of immigrant wage-earners continues, there is no ground for expecting any noteworthy improvement in the near future in the working and living conditions of the employees of our mines and factories."

That the volume of immigration alone has become a menace in recent years and has fast outstripped our assimilative powers is supported by ample evidence in the results of investigations by every commission and like disinterested bodies, as well as by individual students of the question. The mere number of immigrants, if we disregard all other factors in the problem of immigration, is alone sufficient to cause us to pause and take com-

pass as to the drift of our national tendencies. Of prime, if not of first, importance is this question of number. A million and more immigrants a year may give an entirely different direction to our national tendency in development than would one-half that number or less. In other words, a relatively smaller amount of immigration than that which we were receiving before the European War was precipitated might conceivably be beneficial, while the greater volume is affecting quite differently those economic forces on which rests our national life. That recent immigration, with the incoming of more than a million annually, is an entirely different and more complex problem than would be that resulting from the coming of a lesser number—than was the immigration of almost any period prior to 1880—is reflected in the report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration. Not only "the vastly greater number of annual arrivals" but also, even more forcibly, "the greatly increased number of nationalities and of languages" included in recent immigration make the task of assimilation the tremendous one it has come to be. And it is this in part that emphasizes the significance of the volume of immigration.

Occasionally there occurs a volcanic upheaval of economic forces which violently disarranges the usual flow and ebb of the immigration tide. This occurred during the period of our Civil War; it has happened repeatedly in times of financial panics and industrial depressions; it is in evidence

in the effects upon immigration of the present European War. With the tremendous interests at stake, with the upheaval in the social and economic life of the European populations, and with the interruption to ocean travel, the streams of population which have been flowing from the vast reservoirs of peoples in Europe and which have been draining to the United States during the past decade an average of more than a million immigrants annually, have been temporarily shut off by this great armed conflict of the nations. The twelve months following the first declaration of war show the smallest permanent yearly immigration since 1899—it slightly exceeded 325,000.

In consequence, the present is an opportune time to consider impassionately the problem of immigration—to put our house in order if we find it being disordered by immigration. At this critical period, amid the armed clash of the nations of Europe, it is imperative for us "as a people whose earlier hopes have been shocked by the hard blows of experience" to pause and take invoice "of the heterogeneous stocks of humanity that we have admitted to the management of our great political enterprise."[1]

For all aliens entering the country the law provides that manifests shall be supplied to a designated Government official by the steamship company. These manifests show the full name, age, and sex of the alien; whether married or single; the calling or occupation; ability or inability to

[1] Commons: *Races and Immigrants in America.*

read or write; nationality; race; country of last residence; name and address of nearest relative in the country from which the alien comes; the seaport for landing in the United States; the final destination, if any, beyond the port of landing; whether having a ticket through to such final destination; whether the alien has paid his own passage or whether it has been paid by any person or by any corporation, society, municipality, or government, and if so, by whom; whether going to join a relative or friend, and if so, what relative or friend, and his or her name and complete address; whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where; whether ever in a prison or an almshouse or an institution or hospital for the care and treatment of the insane or supported by charity; whether a polygamist; whether an anarchist; whether coming by reason of any offer, solicitation, promise, or agreement, expressed or implied, to perform labor in the United States; the alien's condition of health, mental and physical, and whether deformed or crippled, and if so, how long and from what cause. Statistics based upon the information contained in these manifests supply us with much valuable data for measuring and determining the trend and significance of the various characteristics of the aliens who compose the immigration tide.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF THE TIDE

Our tide tables—the statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Immigration—show that the immigration tide flowing into the United States from all quarters of the globe has its source, for the greater part, in Europe. Of the 1,403,000 alien immigrants landing upon our shores in the twelve months preceding the beginning of the European War, as many as 1,114,000 were from Europe; only 35,000 came from Asia, and the remaining 254,000 were from all other countries combined, these being principally Canada, the West Indies, and Mexico.

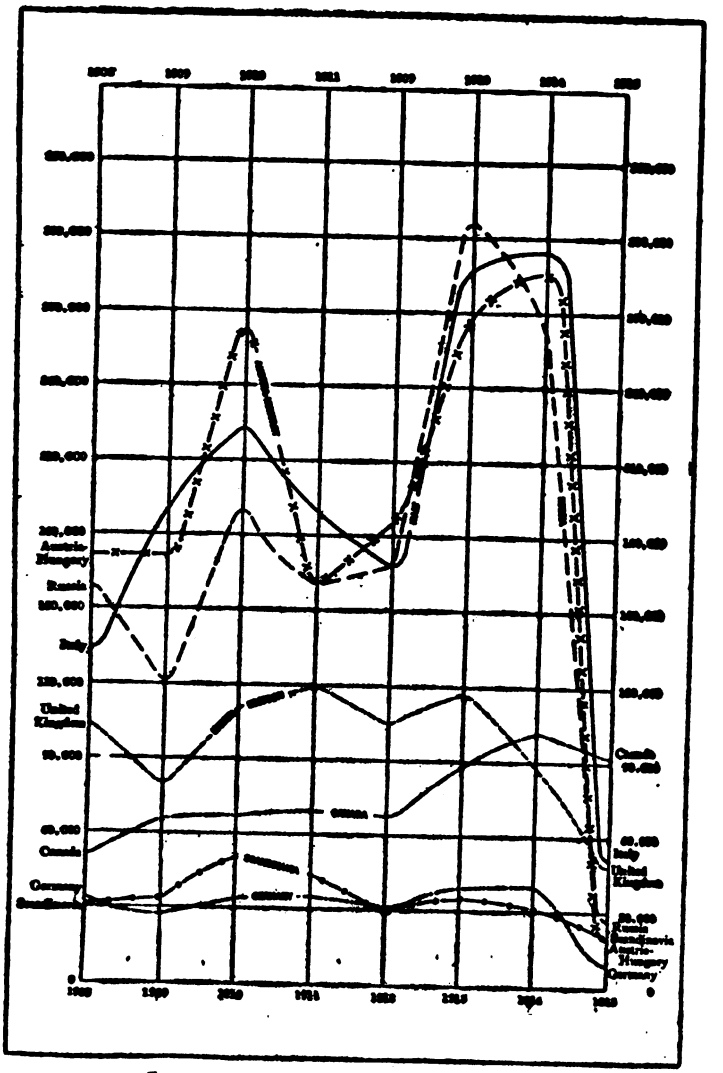
Eighty out of every one hundred immigrants in that fiscal year came from European countries. As many as sixty of these eighty were from three countries only—Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. Italy was first in importance, sending 295,000; Austria-Hungary held second place, contributing 286,000; Russia was third, its contribution reaching 262,000.

From all of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales came only eighty-eight thousand or as few as six out of every one hundred; from Germany, only forty thousand or three out of every one hun-

dred; and from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, only thirty-one thousand or two out of every one hundred.

Thus is indicated the much greater importance of the contribution from the eastern and southern European countries over that of the countries of western Europe. Greece, France, Portugal, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro; Spain, Turkey, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Roumania, of importance in the order given, contributed virtually all the remainder of our 1914 immigration from Europe. Our total immigration from each of the principal countries of origin, showing the relative importance of the respective contributions annually since 1907, is presented in the chart on opposite page.

This grouping of immigrants by countries of origin does not give, or rather it conceals, information as to the racial elements making up our immigration tide. For this reason care must be exercised by bearing in mind exactly what this arbitrary but necessary grouping really means. Country of origin may be, and usually is, the same as nationality, but it is not always the same as identity of race. Politics often cuts through and separates race. Thus it becomes an important factor in the organization of populations. The same race is not infrequently found organized in more than one nationality. Again, political boundaries sometime coincide with racial differentiation of population. We must remember, then, that country of origin or nationality as determined by



IMMIGRATION BY LEADING COUNTRIES

political boundaries or governmental jurisdiction "bears no constant or necessary relation whatever to race," as Professor Ripley says in *The Races of Europe,* but is usually "an artificial result of historical causes. Political boundaries, moreover, may not often be national; they are too often merely governmental."

The sources of our immigration according to country of origin are by nationality or political boundaries solely. Because of failure to recognize exactly what this means, the statistics of immigration are quite commonly misinterpreted, with ensuing erroneous conclusions. Take for illustration our immigrants from Russia. The two hundred and sixty-two thousand arrivals from that country in 1914 were not Russians proper but Hebrews, Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, and Germans. More than ninety-five out of every one hundred of our population enumerated by the census as having been born in Russia are non-Russian; less than five out of every one hundred are Russians.

Austria-Hungary, even more than Russia, comprises a heterogeneous assemblage of races. This hyphenated name as applied to immigration from that country is apt to be misleading. The Germanic Austrians, who rule in Austria, and the Hungarian Magyars, who are politically dominant in Hungary, taken together form less than one-half the total population of the dual kingdom. The majority of the Austro-Hungarian peoples, therefore, belong to races which are neither

"Austrian" nor "Hungarian" properly so-called.

"Most of them," says Mr. F. H. Palmer, in his *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, "are of Slavonic origin; but they, too, are broken up into numerous races, more or less distinct from one another in language, religion, and habits of life. Czechs, Croatians and Serbians, Ruthenes, Poles, Slovaks, and Austro-Bulgarians are all Slavonic races, nearly akin to, and sometimes identical with, others who dwell beyond the frontiers of Austria-Hungary. Quite separate from all these are races more nearly allied to the Latin group, such as the Roumanians or Wallachians and Italians in parts of the Austrian Tyrol and the coastlands. Nor are these all. There are, besides, over two million Jews, and considerable fragments of other races—Greeks, Turks, and Gipsies."

This population of the dual kingdom shows "the most complicated racial mosaic of all modern nations—a juxtaposition of hostile races." Not only are the Slav, the Magyar, the German, the Latin, and the Jew found in Austria-Hungary but they present also numerous subdivisions. In the north the Slavic Czechs are separated into the Bohemians and Moravians; there also are to be found other Slavs—Slovaks, Poles, and Ruthenians or Russniaks; in the south and along the Adriatic are more Slavs—Croatians and Serbians and Dalmatians and Slovenians. Between these north and south Slavs are the non-Slavic Magyars and Ger-

mans—the politically dominant races. In the southwest are Italians; in the east the Latinized Slavs or Roumanians. The southern Slavs and Roumanians are under the sway of Hungary; the Roumanians, a disrupted nationality of Slavs, form partly independent kingdoms and are partly dominated by the Magyars.

The most numerous of the Slavic groups in the dual monarchy are the Czechs, together with the closely allied Slovaks. These gave the United States a combined immigration in 1914 of thirty-seven thousand, of which twenty-seven thousand were Slovaks. They inhabit principally the hilly northwestern Hungary, but, as is the case with so many other races, says Mr. Palmer, they are found also in small groups and communities in other parts far removed from the Carpathian Mountains. Within the Magyar district in Hungary, he tells us, are Slovak villages in which the Slovak language and customs are still preserved unchanged. The Slovaks alone number in the neighborhood of two million five hundred thousand, forming twelve per cent. of the total population of Hungary.

Nearly allied to the Czechs and Slovaks are the Poles, the most unfortunate of all the Slavic peoples. So entirely distinct is the nobility from the great mass of the people that one might almost say that the Poles consist of two separate races. Destroyed as a distinct nationality by the partition of their country between Russia, Germany, and Austria, the Slavs of Poland have been a per-

secuted and oppressed people for more than an hundred years.

In Galicia, Bukowina, and other parts of northern Hungary are the Ruthenians, a branch of the Little Russians, also called Russniaks or Russinians. Although nine-tenths of the Ruthenians live in Russia and only one-tenth in Austria-Hungary, virtually all the forty-two thousand immigrating to the United States in 1914 were from the dual country.

Besides the Ruthenians and Poles, Roumanians also come to the United States from northern Austria. The Roumanians from east of Hungary in the neighborhood of the Black Sea are not Slavic but Italic, being more allied to the Spanish, Italian, and other Latin peoples. Notwithstanding, a strong mixture of Slavic blood permeates the Roumanians, and they are almost surrounded by groups representing this race. Their immigration to the United States in 1914 reached twenty-five thousand.

The Slovenians, also called Slovenes, Griners, Wends, Slovinci, and in the United States Austrians, come principally from southern Austria. A large majority of the one million five hundred thousand inhabit Austria; others are in Hungary and Italy. Croatians and Serbians also emigrate from southern Austria to the United States.

Most of our immigrants from Hungary are not really Hungarians, for the true Hungarian is the Magyar. This people comprises about forty per cent. of the inhabitants of the country. They are

surrounded on all sides by other races, so much so that there is not a single point where they touch the political boundaries of Hungary. To their north are the Slovaks; to the east the Roumanians; to the south the Serbo-Croatians; and to the west the Germans. Thus Hungary is by no means made up solidly of Hungarians. Our immigration of these Magyars in 1914 amounted to forty-seven thousand, and they formed the largest number of any single group from Austria-Hungary, with the possible exception of the Poles.

While Austria-Hungary contains only one-fifth, and Russia nearly three-fourths, of the world's one hundred million Slavs, it is from the former and not the latter country that the United States receives the larger part of its Slavic immigration. In 1914 as many as twenty-three out of every one hundred of our total immigration—as many as three hundred and nineteen thousand—were Slavic. The group contributing the largest number was the Poles, totaling one hundred and twenty-eight thousand; next came the Russians proper, forty-nine thousand; then the Ruthenians or Russniaks with forty-two thousand; the Croatians and Slovenians with thirty-nine thousand; the Slovaks with twenty-seven thousand; the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins with seventeen thousand; the Bohemians and Moravians with ten thousand; and the Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians with five thousand.

The term "Slav," it should be emphasized, is a racial expression like Teuton or Celt and does

not apply to any distinctive nationality; the Russians and Poles and Slovaks are Slavic, just as the Germans are Teutonic and the Scotch are Celtic. The Slavs form about one-fourth of the population of Europe. The most important according to numerical strength are the Russians, numbering nearly seventy million, next the Poles comprising about eleven million, then the Bohemians, Moravians, and Slovaks having about seven million, the Serbians and Croatians six million, the Bulgarians three million, and the Slovenes one million three hundred thousand.

These Slavic peoples, according to Professor Ripley, have played a rôle in the eastern part of Europe "somewhat analogous to, although less successful than, that of the Teutons in the west. They have pressed in upon the territory of the classic civilization of Greece and Rome, ingrafting a new and physically vigorous population upon the old and partially enervated one. From some center of dispersion up north toward Russia, Slavic-speaking peoples have expanded until they have rendered all eastern Europe Slavic from the Arctic Ocean to the Adriatic and Ægean Seas. Only at one place is the continuity of Slavdom broken; but this interruption is sufficient to set off the Slavs into two distinct groups at the present day. The northern one consists of the Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. The southern group comprises the main body of the Balkan peoples from the Serbo-Croatians to the Bulgars. Between these two groups of Slavs is a broad belt of non-

Slavic population, composed of the Magyars, linguistically now as always, Finns; and the Roumanians, who have become Latin in speech within historic times. This intrusive, non-Slavic belt lies along or near the Danube, that great highway over which eastern peoples have penetrated Europe for centuries. The presence of this waterway is distinctly the cause of the linguistic phenomenon. Rome went east, and the Finns, like the Huns, went west along it. Linguistically speaking, therefore, the boundary of the southern Slavs and that of the Balkan Peninsula, beginning at the Danube, are one and the same."[1]

That country of origin may not, and in a number of instances does not, convey accurate information as to the character of its emigration is again illustrated in the facts that "Greeks predominate everywhere on the coast of the Ægean" under Turkish rule, and Armenians form communities in all large Turkish towns with the exception of Macedonia. These Armenians are probably the most numerous of the races coming to the United States from Asia. Their country lies west of the Caspian Sea and east of the Black Sea, being partly in Asiatic Russia, partly in Asiatic Turkey, and partly in Persia. These Armenians call themselves Haiks. From that country also come Hurds and Georgeans. They are governed largely by Turkey, and also by Persia and Russia.

In Turkey are to be found also Kurds, Circas-

[1] Ripley: *The Races of Europe*, p. 403.

sians, Albanians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, and others, the population of that country being possibly the most heterogeneous of any outside the United States. The Albanians, who were brought under Turkish rule five hundred years ago, have never considered themselves a conquered race and occasionally rebel against the authority of the Porte. The Christians of Macedonia belong to four different nationalities—Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek, and Vlach or Wallachian. All these different races have been subjected within a politically united empire to the Ottoman Turks or Osmanlis. The Turkish element forms a small proportion only of the population of European Turkey; it is scarcely a third in the Armenian provinces of Asia Minor. The presence in every important town of representatives of divers races is indicative of the fact that the assimilating power of the Turks during their five centuries of rule has been negligible.

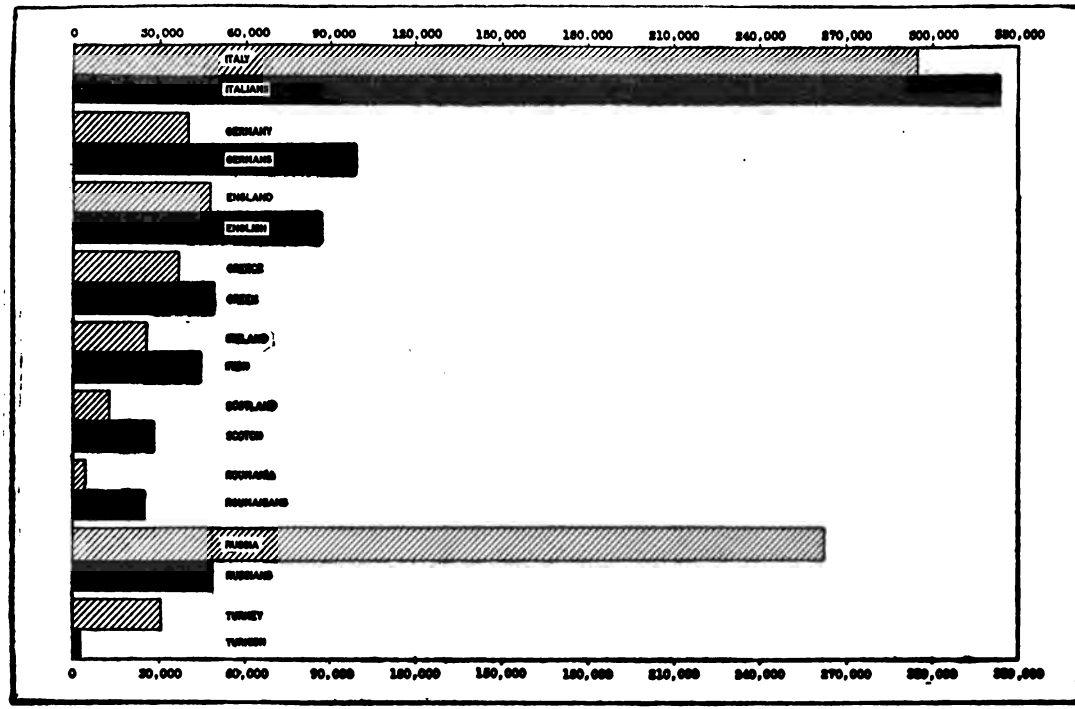
In the Balkan Peninsula Slavs and Albanians form about one-half the total population; there also are Greeks and Tatar-Turks. The Slavs comprise Serbo-Croatians and, in a measure, Bulgarians. The Greeks constitute about one-third of the population of the Peninsula. As for the Turks, their number is relatively unimportant, dominating only in eastern Bulgaria, and elsewhere being scattered as a minority among the Slavs and Greeks. These Greeks are in the southern portion of the Peninsula, having spread out beyond the limited area of Greece itself.

That many of the Greeks immigrating to the United States do not come from Greece is indicated in the fact that our total immigration from that country in 1914 was not quite thirty-seven thousand, while the number of Greeks admitted reached nearly forty-nine thousand. We received in the same year nearly three times as many immigrants from Turkey in Asia as we did from Turkey in Europe, the numbers being respectively twenty-two thousand and a little over eight thousand. While Turkey thus gave us a total of thirty thousand, the actual Turkish immigration was less than three thousand. Most of the remainder was composed of Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Syrians, Armenians, and Hebrews.

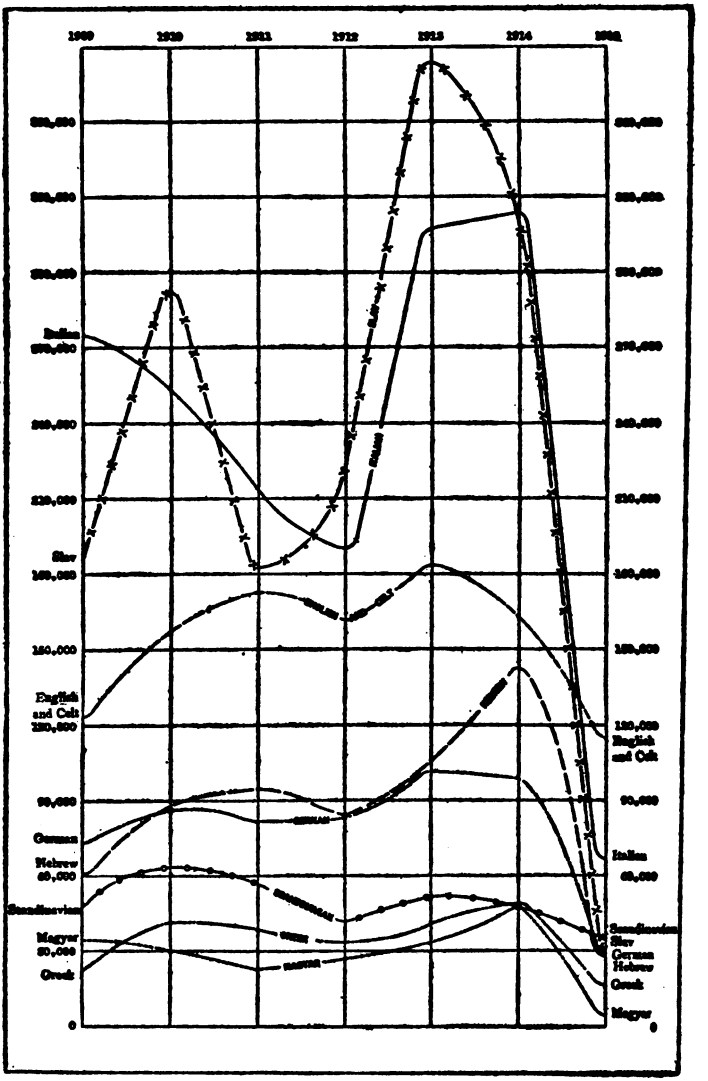
This immigration by race and country is compared in the diagram on page 25.

Particularly is it true that country of origin tells us virtually nothing of the large Hebrew immigration to our shores. The Jew comes from many countries and from no particular country that he can call his own. Most of the recent immigration of Hebrews has been from Russia, coming principally from what is known as the "Jewish Pale of Settlement" in the western part of that country. Others come from Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Germany, and Turkey. In 1914 Hebrews formed the fourth largest group among all the immigrating peoples; their number was nearly one hundred and forty-three thousand.

Immigration by race since 1908 is illustrated in the diagram on page 26.



TOTAL IMMIGRATION, 1914, COMPARING COUNTRY AND RACE



LEADING EUROPEAN IMMIGRATING PEOPLES

It should be clear by now that country of origin or nationality is not always identical with race solidarity. Even where there is no clear-cut line of racial demarkation within a country, there may be important differences among the immigrants which are hidden from view by their being designated according to the country of their origin. Such is the case with Italy. Really important differences are to be found between the people who come to us from northern Italy and those who emigrate from its southern section. So well is this recognized that the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Government keeps a separate record of north and south Italian immigrants. Of the total of three hundred and twenty-four thousand in 1914, the south Italians made up as much as eighty-four per cent. and the north Italians only sixteen per cent. Most of the south Italians come from the provinces of Abbruzzi, Campania, Calabria, and the island of Sicily. Racially, however, it can be said that there is only one race in Italy, although there has been in historic times an admixture of foreign blood that has brought about significant differences between the north and south Italians.

These are the more important countries and races comprising the principal sources of our immigration tide. What are the basal economic forces at work in these countries and among these races that cause their peoples by millions to emigrate to our shores?

CHAPTER III

THE TIDAL FORCE

It should be realized at the outset that the cause of emigration from any particular country or from all countries may not necessarily be also the cause of immigration to the United States. The one movement may occur without the other. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable amount of emigration from European countries that does not come to this country.

United States Consul-General Hale, in reporting to the State Department on immigration to this country from England in the eighties, stated that there were three general conditions upon which emigration from Europe depended and under which all the specific causes of emigration could be included. The most important of these conditions is the attraction of the country of destination. Next in importance is the facility or means of escape from the conditions of dissatisfaction in the emigrant's home country. These means include principally comfort, cheapness, and speed, and also the attitude of the country the emigrant leaves and the one to which he goes. It is only after these two conditions are satisfactory that the third cause of emigration—dissatisfaction

on the part of the emigrant over conditions in his own country—becomes of importance.

"Considered with reference to these conditions," says Consul Hale, "statistics of emigration to the United States of British, German, and French show a very remarkable uniformity in the response which the emigration makes to the prevailing condition of the period. The uniformity, however, is not remarkable at all, but only natural, if it be borne in mind how universal is the application of the great laws which govern human action. The statistics show that the Briton, the German, and the Frenchman instantly availed themselves of the remarkable increase of the facilities of ocean transit which began to be developed in the early part of the double decade 1841-60, in which period he found at the same time increasing benefit from the attractions of America. The figures also show that the Briton expressed his appreciation of the suddenly developed advantages of this period by increasing his emigration nearly five hundred per cent. over his emigration in the preceding period 1821-40; the German by increasing his emigration over six hundred per cent.; and even the Frenchman, whose emigration is so small as scarcely to be expected to sympathize with the general movement, by increasing his emigration one hundred and fifty per cent." [1]

With the emigration of the twenty years prior to 1860 Consul Hale compares that of the twenty

[1] United States Consular Reports on Emigration and Immigration, House Executive Document No. 157.

years following. Both dissatisfaction with home conditions and the facilities for reaching the United States were greatly increased during the second period and would have resulted in a greatly increased emigration from the United Kingdom and Germany, at least, if the other element—conditions in the United States—had been favorable. As a matter of fact, these were unfavorable, and in consequence the ratio of emigration, instead of greatly increasing, actually decreased. "The attractions of the United States had declined so," says Consul Hale, "that the Briton decreased the ratio of his emigration twenty-three per cent."

United States Consul Lathrop, in reporting also upon British emigration, stated that a study of the statistics shows the ruling factor to be the state of trade in the United States. "Prosperity there largely increases emigration from Great Britain; and this appears to be the case whether trade be active or not in Great Britain. In fact, it must be thus, for prosperous periods in the two countries have been almost synchronous; and so emigrants have transferred their homes and their families more largely in those seasons of comforts and well-doing than when their circumstances were depressed."

And so it is with emigration from Germany. It has been determined not so much by economic conditions in that country as by favorable conditions in America. The statistics of emigration from Germany show the largest number of departures to the United States in those years when

there was the greatest and most active industrial and commercial activity in this country—when factories, workshops, and shipyards were busy, when crops were good, and when remunerative prices brought comforts and luxuries to the American farmer. Proof is just as conclusive that the years of least emigration from Germany are marked by business and commercial depression in the United States. In brief, the increase or decrease in emigration from Germany to this country has been determined by the rise or fall in the prosperity of the United States.

"While economic conditions in the emigrants' home country have always had more or less influence in determining the volume of emigration, at the same time it is more than probable that the deciding factor has usually been the economic conditions in America," say the United States Consular Reports on Emigration and Immigration in reference to Germany. "For illustration, the fluctuations of the trans-Atlantic emigration from Germany, as indicated in the statistics of immigration, show that the rise or fall is largely due to greater or less business prosperity in America. Neither good nor poor times in the immigrant's home country stimulate emigration to the United States as much as do the reports from others in America of the prevalence there of prosperous conditions."

Consul Eckstein, reporting to the State Department of the United States Government in regard to emigration from the Netherlands, stated that

the falling off in the eighties of emigration from Holland to the United States "has not been owing to favorable surroundings or prosperous conditions prevailing in Holland," for, on the contrary, they had been exactly the reverse. During the early part of the decade emigration from Holland had been increasing. In 1884 occurred a period of industrial depression in that country accompanied by the workers' "strike for work," not for increased wages nor to prevent a reduction of wages nor for shorter hours. Ordinarily, these conditions would have meant increased emigration, but, as a matter of fact, it actually decreased. The primary explanation of this is to be found in the prevalence of less favorable conditions in the United States. He expresses the opinion that emigration was ordinarily more influenced, that it increased or decreased, according as favorable or unfavorable news respecting the economic and social conditions in the United States was received and circulated in Holland than it was affected by conditions in that country.

A search of the causes of emigration from Switzerland to the United States discloses the fact that they are to be found more in the latter country than in the former. This is all the more important when we remember that in Switzerland there were no instances of great wealth, no appearance of great ease and luxury, no rich and arrogant aristocracy, but, instead, almost every head of a family, however humble in circumstances, possessed a home belonging to him in fee

with all its civilizing influences. Pauperism as an institution was scarcely known. Neither did compulsory military service nor onerous taxation enter as a cause of Swiss emigration to the United States.

Take the Scandinavian emigration to this country. Hardly any other people in Europe enjoyed greater peace and more continued progress under free and democratic institutions. There were no political disturbances, no religious controversies, and no military exactions sufficient to cause emigration in any large numbers. That which did take place was almost entirely due to economic causes operating in the United States and not in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

A recent investigation[1] of the large immigration movement to the United States from eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey presents additional evidence of the fact that it is due to the demand for labor being much greater and the wages paid much higher in the United States than in the countries from which the immigrants come. "Avoidance of military service, a desire for adventure, dissatisfaction with political and social conditions, alleged discrimination on account of race or religion, and various other causes are also operative," says this investigator, "but all of these combined are of little importance when com-

[1] Made during the last six months of 1913 by Mr. W. W. Husband, an immigrant inspector of the United States Bureau of Immigration. Published as an Appendix in the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914.

pared with the simple economic inducement referred to."

Provided times are "good" in the United States, emigration from Europe takes place regardless of conditions there. It occurs when times in Europe are "good" as regularly as when they are "bad." It does not necessarily take place during periods of greatest dullness in trade in the particular European country; nay, more, quite often it occurs when agricultural and industrial conditions there are prosperous. The record of emigration of every European country shows that this movement of population out of the home country takes place in times of prosperity immediately following a period of dullness, provided times are "good" in the United States; that it declines or falls off when depression in this country sets in again.

This close relation between periods of industrial prosperity and an increase in immigration to the United States, on the one hand, and of industrial depression and a decrease in immigration on the other, is indicated strikingly in the chart which supplies the frontispiece illustration to this volume. It illustrates the annual waves of immigration that have washed our shores each year since 1820. "It is interesting to note," says the Report of the Federal Bureau of Immigration for 1914, "the successive periodical increases, receding less each time coincident with the periods of financial depression, only to reach to a greater height with the next ascending wave. . . . The

three periods of depression following 1857, 1873, and 1893 stand out prominently, and the recent financial and commercial depression (1907) caused the wave line to drop to a marked degree. This periodical rise and fall well represents the relative prosperity of the country."

Even before 1857 there was the same tendency in immigration. What has come to be characterized in American history as "The Golden Age" preceded the panic of 1857 and followed that of 1837. It was accompanied by a striking increase in the number of aliens entering the country, as many as 428,000 arriving in a single twelve months, marking the pinnacle of an almost uninterrupted increase from 52,000 in 1843 and standing out conspicuously in our statistics of immigration as the largest single yearly inflow up to that time. This inrush was accompanied by the most remarkable industrial and agricultural development the people of the United States had yet witnessed. So large was the emigration from Europe that it became known in the history of certain of those countries and especially of Ireland as "The Exodus."

So it was with "The Era of Good Feeling" preceding the 1837 panic. It was accompanied by a wave of immigration which increased the number of arrivals in six years from less than twenty three thousand to more than seventy-nine thousand. This was for that period a large annual inflow.

As the years of financial and business prosper-

ity are accompanied by large and increasing immigration, so the years following financial panics and those which mark industrial depression show a falling off in the number of alien arrivals. These panics occur usually at the close of a period of prosperity in this country; at the same time is recorded a decline in the volume of immigration. In 1873, for illustration, immigration was 460,000. The panic of that year was the most serious the country had ever experienced. Immigration declined in the five years following to less than 139,000. By 1882 immigration had again risen to about 789,000. Accompanying the business depression which began in that year, it dropped to less than 335,000 four years later. The height of business revival was again reached in 1892 and immigration that year was 580,000. The panic of 1893 interrupted this inflow and the following years of depression saw immigration drop to as low as 229,000 in 1898, the smallest yearly inflow since 1879. Following 1898 came a period of better times culminating in 1907, when permanent immigration reached 1,285,000, the highest point it had ever attained in our history. In the fall of that year the country was once more plunged into the throes of another financial panic and ensuing industrial depression. Immigration dropped within two years to less than 752,000.

The immediate effect upon immigration of a financial panic here is the cutting off of the inflow at its source. In the past, this has not affected the stream to any considerable extent for that

year as reflected in the statistics of arrivals; in fact, a "panic year" usually marks the flood-tide of immigration. This is explained in the fact that many aliens had already left their European homes and were on their way to this country when the panic was precipitated. The departure of these and others who had made their plans for emigrating was not affected by the adverse conditions, and their arrival here is thus recorded in the panic year. But under modern conditions of communication and transportation the effect of a panic upon immigration is now reflected almost immediately. For instance, the effects of the panic of October, 1907, were such as to prevent almost entirely the arrival on our shores in 1908 of the usual spring tide.

The years of commercial or industrial depression in the United States correspond with the years which show the least emigration from Europe. This lends force to the contention that in considering the causes of immigration emphasis should be laid upon conditions prevailing in the United States rather than upon those in Europe. Unfavorable conditions alone in the European country cannot be regarded as the basal cause of immigration to the United States. However bad they may be, emigration does not result unless there are fair prospects that better conditions will be found here. Thus, adverse conditions in Europe do not necessarily mean immigration to this country—they should be regarded only as a secondary cause of immigration inasmuch as they

nearly always have to be coupled with the existence of improved conditions in the United States.

Economic opportunity here, heightened at intervals by periods of industrial and business prosperity, is the single powerful force drawing immigration to our shores.

Much significance lies in the fact that there has never been a period of economic prosperity in this country that has not been marked by large and increasing immigration. Similarly, immigration from all or from any particular European country is smallest in volume when business or industrial conditions here are "bad." That it is the economic situation in the United States at any particular time which determines our immigration from Europe, is proven by the often recurring fact that even where this improved economic condition corresponds to good times in the particular European country, there is still immigration to this country. The result quite often is an increase in emigration from Europe when times there are good and a decline in immigration when times there are bad. If conditions in Europe were the primary operating cause of immigration to the United States this anomalous situation would not so often be presented. That immigration is most closely related to the conditions of business in this country is proven not only by the record of emigration from every European country, but also by the statistics of immigration of the United States Government.

"The great determining factor in the volume of

immigration," says Professor Fairchild, "has been the economic situation in this country. Prosperity has always been attended by large immigration, hard times by the reverse." Developing this point further, he says: "The natural causes of immigration at the present time lie primarily in the superiority of the economic conditions in the United States over those in the countries from which the immigrants come. Modern immigration is essentially an economic phenomenon. Religious and political causes have played the leading part in the past, and still enter in as contributory factors in many cases. But the one prevailing reason why the immigrant of today leaves his native village is that he is dissatisfied with his economic lot, as compared with what it might be in the New World. The European peasant comes to America because he can—or believes he can—secure a greater return in material welfare for the amount of labor expended in this country than in his home land. This fact is recognized by practically all careful students of the subject, and is frequently emphasized in the recent report of the Immigration Commission. It is worthy of notice, also, that the changes which affect the volume of immigration current, and cause those repeated fluctuations which we have observed, are changes in the economic situation in this country, rather than in the countries of source. A period of good times in this country attracts large numbers of immigrants by promising large rewards for labor; an industrial depres-

sion checks the incoming current, and sends away many of those who are here."[1]

At the present time, he adds, "the motives of the immigrants are almost wholly economic.[2] . . . There can be little doubt that on the average the immigrant is able to earn and save more, not only of money, but of wealth in the broader sense, than he could at home. This is the great underlying motive of modern immigration, and if it were illusory, the movement must soon fail."[3]

Thus, it can be stated as a law of immigration that by far its greater volume is determined by, and its movement depends upon, the condition of business in the country receiving the immigrants. This is beyond dispute among those who have carefully studied the facts. It explains, in large part, the moving force back of those waves of humanity which during the past century have surged across the broad Atlantic; it explains, also, the fluctuations in the flow and ebb in this movement of population out of Europe.

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 145.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

CHAPTER IV

TWO VIEWS OF THE TIDE

Periods of prosperity in this country, then, are nearly always accompanied by an increase in the volume of immigration, regardless of conditions in Europe. This is because there are better opportunities at those times for securing employment at high wages. For instance, take immigration into our New England mill towns. Its volume is determined with clock-like regularity by the prosperity of those mills—upon poorer business prospects setting in, the alien workers leave for their home countries, only to return immediately upon improved chances for employment. The same is true of the anthracite and bituminous coal mines, of the steel mills, of the clothing trade, and of scores of other industries now almost entirely dominated by this alien labor. So well organized is the machinery for the transmission of information to Europe as to economic conditions and prospects here, and for the transportation of labor across the Atlantic, that the populations of European countries are enabled to take instant advantage of the demand for labor in this country.

The fact is, and a startling fact it is, too, immigration today and in the large has become a co-

lossal business enterprise—a huge commercial undertaking—the wholesaling of human labor for gain.

There have grown up in many industrial centers and large cities of the United States and at different sources of emigration in Europe agencies whose principal business is the promotion of immigration. These agencies comprise an extensive system of organization through labor contractors, employment agents, immigrant bankers, padrones, and steamship and ticket agents, and this system has come into existence to supply the American employer with this cheap European labor. These agents are known to go so far as to advance the cost of transportation to immigrants who give security to refund the amount out of the first wages they earn in the United States. These agencies have contracts to supply labor to individuals and firms engaged in large industrial and manufacturing enterprises and in railroad and other construction work, such as public buildings, reservoirs, and the like.

That these agencies are the instigating cause of many of the inhabitants of European countries leaving for the United States who otherwise would not come here is common knowledge to all investigators of immigrant conditions. These agents are the inciting cause of that remarkable fluctuation in the volume of immigration which we have seen marks alternate periods of industrial depression, on the one hand, and of good times on the other. They transmit abroad information as to

prosperity in the United States and encourage hundreds of thousands of the industrial and agricultural classes to come here. This is the underlying explanation of increasing immigration. The peasants of Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, in particular, continue to supply, as they have supplied for years past, an abundant harvest to these promoters of immigration. Evidence on this point is overwhelming.

The activities of these ticket agents or brokers are referred to as being among the chief secondary or immediate causes of immigration by Mr. W. W. Husband, an immigrant inspector of the Federal Bureau of Immigration, who only recently concluded an investigation of the immigration movement to the United States from eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey.[1] The function of these agents, he says, is largely to convince potential emigrants that going away is possible and to assist and direct them in so doing. He believes that they are so important a factor, at least in a contributory sense, that their elimination would result in a greatly reduced emigration, while their better control along lines contemplated by the United States law, as well as by the emigration laws of most European countries, would have the same effect, only in a lesser degree. High officials in Russia expressed to him the opinion that more than one-half of the emigration from that country is due to the activity of steamship ticket agents,

[1] Appendix to Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914, p. 392.

while a competent authority in Hungary estimated that fifty thousand emigrants left that country in 1913 as the result of such propaganda. "Further evidence in this regard," says Mr. Husband, "is the claim of Government officials that the suppression of ticket agents in Bulgaria has reduced emigration from that country to a minimum—a claim that seems to be substantiated by our statistical records."

Writing of the illegal agent, who carries on probably the greater part of the emigration business in the eastern European countries, Mr. Husband says that these secret or contraband agents, as a rule, do not "directly represent any particular steamship company, but rather deal with general agents of such companies or semi-independent concerns which are more or less closely allied to some particular line or group of lines. In many cases the so-called agents are merely brokers who round up emigrants and turn them over to the representative of some line or semi-independent agency just outside the borders of the country where they are recruited, or in some cases to legal agents at home. Still further down the list are the runners who go about the villages and direct their patrons—or victims, as the case may be—to some legal agent or illegal broker for a small commission per head. Still another important feature of the business is the piloting of illegal emigrants out of the country of origin. In Russia, Austria-Hungary, and to a lesser extent in the Balkan States, the business of conducting

groups of illegal emigrants has reached enormous proportions, and in the aggregate scores of thousands so cross the frontiers of their respective countries annually."

In addition to these secret or contraband agents, who are responsible for the existence in Europe of "underground railroads" permitting egress to emigrants, are other agents who represent transportation concerns authorized to conduct an emigration business in the particular country and who usually operate under government regulations which forbid the solicitation of emigration. In some countries, says Mr. Husband, there are authorized emigration agents which do not directly represent any specific transportation company or companies. "Unfortunately in some instances the law respecting the artificial promotion of emigration is not well observed, and legal agents solicit business with the same eagerness that characterizes their illegal competitors." There is also a considerable number of emigration agents more or less independent of the steamship companies which, although not in close contact with the sources of immigration, are represented in such fields by agents or brokers, some of whom also conduct "a vigorous propaganda through form letters and so on sent to potential emigrants whose names are secured in various ways."

Mr. Husband states that the practice of insuring emigrants against rejection at United States ports has become a very common one. "It is openly carried on in practically all of the impor-

tant ports of eastern Europe," he says, "and in some cases the business is transacted in emigration stations maintained by steamship companies or at their ticket agencies, although it appears that such companies are not directly interested."

The American people have been slow to realize and to recognize these facts. They continue to be influenced in great part by the inherited belief that immigration in the large is still the free and voluntary movement to the United States of oppressed peoples of European countries in search of religious, political, and civil liberty; that they come seeking opportunities of greater independence and freedom for individual development outside the restraints imposed by kings and abbots and lords. These sentiments and motives the American people have idealized overmuch—they have pictured to themselves the immigrant as one who is "unconscious of the gold and the iron slumbering in our hills" and who comes for "conscience' sake." This view is based upon the fact that Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, Catholics, and German Pietists "sailed the treacherous seas and marched into the pathless wilderness, driven by something higher than the mere necessity to sustain life"; and that others have come who also were "Dreamers of Dreams" and seekers after "a city whose builder and maker is God."[1]

This halo attaches itself to immigration of the present day, notwithstanding the revolutionary changes which time has brought about. Through

[1] Steiner: *The Immigrant Tide*, p. 186.

this view we have a picture of the ideals and soul longings of the immigrant which appeals to our higher humane emotions. The poor, down-trodden, persecuted, idealizing alien on board the immigrant ship looking longingly towards the shores of America and with outstretched arms supplicating "The Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World" is a familiar but much over-drawn and often over-worked figure. They who hold up to our view this picture would have us believe that the typical immigrant is a future American patriot in embryo or a far-sighted and soul-longing dreamer and philosopher.

For the greater part such word pictures are imaginary and emotional tales from the writer's own subjective view of what he or she thinks the immigrant thinks. They represent a view of immigration which most of us have inherited from the more favorable conditions of the past and this view impels us, unless we are on our guard, to adopt an unintelligent attitude toward immigration of the present day. This situation is being taken advantage of by a well defined group of writers and public speakers and by a much larger group comprising transportation companies, large employers of cheap labor, steamship ticket agents, labor contractors, employment agents, padrones, immigrant bankers, associations of foreign newspaper publishers, liberal immigration leagues, and others whose economic self-interest lies in continuing the recent large immigration. These groups are making use of this view of immigration in in-

numerable ways in a well planned campaign to persuade the public to continue a policy of practically unrestricted immigration. And as a conscious part of the campaign autobiographies and personal sketches of successful immigrants are finding a place in our magazines and newspapers and occasionally in book form, and we are being told in moving words of the successful work among immigrants of social settlements and the like.

All this is the viewpoint of the sentimentalist. As an unsigned contributor to an article entitled "Sentimentalism—Soft and Hard," in the *Unpopular Review,* says: "There have always been people who color the actual world to suit their own fancy, passion or weakness, but oddly we have only within a century or so had a word to define their state of mind. . . . The essence of all sentimentalism is inability to march up to the facts of a case. Whoever simply evades the facts, closes his eyes to actual data of his own fabrication, is a soft sentimentalist. . . . He oversimplifies his problem by canceling all disagreeable or difficult terms, and by playing with tractable terms of his own evocation. . . . Phantasm replaces reality. . . . To blur valid distinctions which tell against one's major enthusiasm is usually the first symptom of sentimentalism. . . . When it suits the purpose of soft sentimentalists, they recklessly equate things and issues really very different; when a fact is too inconvenient for their maxims, they pretend it away. Invariably they are verbalists,

substituting wide shibboleths for the painful analysis of human motive and conduct as they are." Our problem is "to restrict the insidious and often delightful process of reshaping the world that is into a false guise conformed to our own desires. It is so much easier to square the most obvious aspect of any transaction with our own mood, than to analyze the transaction in all its aspects, and adjust our mood to the inexorable requirements of reality. . . . The surest guarantee of any state is a citizenry that, obeying the law of reason, has the courage and lucidity to face the world as it is."[1]

The plain, unadulterated fact is that the immigrants of today, in the mass, do not approach even in the tenth degree the imaginary word-figure of the sentimentalist. For the most part, they are sober and industrious, are endured to arduous toil and, as a rule, are moral and trustworthy. Adversity and disappointment they face unflinchingly. That they have many virtues there is no denying; still they are simply rough, unskilled, illiterate, unimaginative, hard-working laborers, and even in America with all its opportunities they will never be anything else. They come here solely to improve their harsh economic status. This is the one dominant cause of emigration from Europe that can be applied, with due regard to the facts, to the greater volume of our alien arrivals.

Please do not misunderstand. Let us not be un-

[1] *The Unpopular Review*, Vol. 14, 1915.

fair or intellectually dishonest and twist the facts to suit our own point of view. Let us be courageous enough to face all the facts even though some of them may appear to direct us into a path our opinions would not have us go. Let us even be brave enough to admit those facts which are adverse to our personal viewpoint.

As the Puritans, the Catholics, the Quakers, and other religious refugees and seekers after liberty of conscience migrated here in earlier days, so today among those immigrating are some in search of freedom of worship. But of the million and more immigrants now landing annually upon our shores these dreamers and seekers are few, very few in number. So, also, as to those seeking to escape from the effects of adverse political conditions—those searchers in quest of the same goal earlier sought by the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower*. They come today as they came in days past, but their number is small, very small compared to the total immigration. Neither the desire for freedom of conscience in religious matters, nor the longing for civil and political liberty, nor the ambition to secure educational advantages —none of these are uppermost as primary causes giving to us the great body of immigrants of the present day. The religious and political motives have almost wholly disappeared in favor of the economic in modern immigration, says Professor Fairchild.[1]

Those who accept the sentimentalist's point of

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 378.

view magnify the atom or molecule and ignore the mass. They have their eyes so close to the mole-hill that it obscures their view of the mountain. The inevitable result is to decide the immigration issue upon the acceptance of evidence dealing with an insignificant part of this wonderful movement of populations and ignoring entirely the great, primal economic forces that give to us by far the greater number of the aliens migrating to our shores.

If the American people fail to regard immigration of today in the light of these facts—if our legislators refuse to treat it as it really is and, instead, accept an imaginary picture of it—then we shall fail as a people to take that action which the economic facts of the situation warrant and justify. Above all, sentimentalism must not be permitted to blind us to the economics of the problem.

I say in all seriousness and in no spirit of selfish nativism that we as a people will not solve the immigration question, either to our own advantage as a nation or to that of the immigrant seeking liberty and freedom, if we attempt to do so from the sentimental point of view of the imaginary immigrant seeking a religious, civil, political, and personal Utopia. We can not see immigration of today in its true dimensions if we look at it through an historical perspective or accept the picture of the sentimentalist as representing the present-day facts. The solution of the immigration problem must be approached, as Pro-

fessor Carver of Harvard University so well says,[1] from that point of view which has "reference to external, economic facts, rather than to internal criterions such as the 'sentimental morality' that has hitherto influenced thought" and determined action on this very important and serious public question.

In dealing with immigration of the present day, it is of supreme importance that we recognize the indisputable fact that it is not comparable with the free and voluntary movement to our shores of seekers after religious and civil and political liberty—that it is not the result of voluntary initiative on the part of the immigrant—but that, instead, much of it is stimulated and induced, and therefore unnatural and artificial immigration. If left to the initiative of the immigrants themselves, the United States would not have received anywhere near the one million four hundred thousand aliens who came to our shores in 1914.

Upon this point there is no disagreement among scientific authorities. Special reports on emigration made to the United States Department of Commerce and Labor by our consular representatives in the countries from which the greater part of our immigration comes, also show virtual unanimity on this point. The evidence is voluminous and indisputable. It is supplied by every intellectually and sympathetically free investigator and thinker who has ever undertaken a painstaking study of present-day conditions.

[1] Carver: *Essays in Social Justice.*

That immigration today is by no means the same problem, although it bears the same word-name, that it was forty and more years ago is a point which needs constantly to be emphasized. The problem is different because conditions in the United States are wholly different. The solution must come from a thorough knowledge and a clear understanding of the economic factors that are today the cause of immigration and not through any sentimental view colored by history's mirage.

CHAPTER V

STIMULATED AND INDUCED IMMIGRATION

"Foreign laborers are now available in this city for less wages than you can secure men for in your state. Are you in need of any? If so, we can offer for immediate shipment any number of them of any desired nationality." This quotation is from a circular issued in 1913 to large employers of labor by a licensed and bonded employment or labor agency in New York City.

One of the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World, Mr. Joseph J. Ettor, in 1912, at the time of the industrial upheaval in New England against intolerable conditions of employment in the textile mills, known as the "Lawrence Strike" after a mill town of that name, stated that "in portions of Syria, Galilea, and Russia people know only Lawrence, United States. Who told them? The agents of the textile industry. They have cards with a picture of a mill and a house—a real mansion—with the people heading from the mill to the house, and then a bank with workers with big pay bags."

The advice and financial assistance of immigrants already in this country are also among the chief secondary or immediate causes of immigra-

tion, according to Mr. Husband, to whose investigation of the subject reference has already been made. "The desire and purpose to emigrate is for the most part due," he says, "to encouraging letters from friends in the United States, or the evidences of prosperity exhibited by those who have returned to their home land. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether steamship ticket agents, however active and persuasive, could promote anything like the present volume of emigration from eastern Europe were it not that an intense spirit of emigration has been created and kept alive by the encouraging reports of those who have sought their fortunes in the New World."[1]

The primary cause of the remarkable exodus from Russia and Austria, United States Consul Diedrich says,[2] is the stimulating of discontent among the laboring classes of Europe by reports more or less exaggerated of greater prosperity in the United States. Every workman who comes to this country and finds employment becomes an advertising agent among his circle of relatives and friends in his home country. He is worked upon by his foreman or superintendent or the aggressive labor employment agent with the result that his representation of conditions and prospects here prove irresistibly attractive and invariably result sooner or later in his friends joining him.

[1] Appendix to the 1914 Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

[2] Special Consular Reports on Emigration to the United States, Department of Commerce and Labor.

United States Consul Crouch, in reporting to the State Department upon Italian emigration, states that the discontent among these people caused by adverse home conditions "is further increased by the growing knowledge of the vastly better economic conditions in the countries of the New World, by the example of emigrants returning with comparative wealth, by reports and money sent from friends and relatives who have thus sought and found fortunes, and also by the glowing and exaggerated descriptions of the agents of steamship lines, land companies, and similar interested parties."

Vice Consul Huning, reporting from Austria, states that the number of emigrants would not be so large "if the devices and schemes of emigration agents and alluring reports sent over by relatives and acquaintances who went before were not continually at work to enlist fresh numbers to swell the ranks."

"Fifty per cent. of those who emigrate," says Consul Partello, reporting from Düsseldorf, "have friends or relatives in the United States who induce them to come, often advancing means sufficient to meet the necessary expenses. This, however, is regulated principally by the condition of affairs in the States, causing corresponding changes with the financial conditions of the country."[1]

Consul Millar, reporting from Leipsic, says:

[1] House of Representatives, Forty-Ninth Congress, Second Session. Executive Document No. 157.

"The bad conditions of the labor market in America have also had a direct effect in the diminution of emigration, from the fact that latterly much fewer prepaid tickets have been sent by emigrants to their friends here than formerly. . . . The falling off in the number of emigrants in the last few years is attributed to the circulation of bad news from America in the newspapers."

It is no exaggeration to say that literally hundreds of thousands of the immigrants coming to us annually sail from their home country without the faintest conception as to what they are going to do, relying upon the stories they have heard and what has been told to them to the effect that they would have no trouble in finding work at considerably higher wages than those paid in their native land, particularly in industrial and mining pursuits. It is unquestionably true that were it not for the letters and passage tickets sent from the United States, hundreds of thousands of immigrants would never have come here. Of course, back of these letters is the reported existence in this country of economic conditions which offer better opportunities than the immigrant believes he has at home.

The enormous increase in recent years in our immigration from southern and eastern Europe is to be explained in the fact, says the 1910 Report of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, that "it is, to a very large extent, induced, stimulated, artificial immigration."

Induced immigration, says Professor Commons

in his *Races and Immigrants in America,* has been as potent as voluntary immigration, and it is to this "mercenary motive that we owe our manifold variety of races, and especially our influx of backward races." The efforts of large employers of labor and shipowners to attract and bring them have been a most important factor, he says, in flooding the domestic labor market with an oversupply of low-wage workers.

The Hon. James Bryce in *The American Commonwealth* states that what has accelerated and increased the vast outflow of peoples from the Old World to the New has been "the extraordinary cheapness and swiftness of transportation by sea" and "the facilities which modern methods of advertising have enabled steamship companies to use, and which they have strenuously used, to induce the peasants of the secluded corners of Europe to seek new homes beyond the ocean."

The mere transportation of the immigrants in itself means a business of some thirty-five million dollars a year. The steamship companies by a steady growth have developed their facilities so as to take care of a large volume, and it is greatly to their business interests to see that this is at all times as near its maximum as they can make it.

Aliens who are assisted or induced to come to the United States form today a very large group among our immigrants, how large there is no means of knowing. They are much more numerous than the three hundred and thirty debarred in 1914, which were all of this group the immigra-

tion authorities could detect. On this point the Commissioner-General says in his 1914 Report: "The policy of the law is opposed to induced immigration, and any alien (where it is known or suspected that he has been) actually assisted to migrate is put under the burden of showing affirmatively and satisfactorily that he does not belong to one of the directly excluded classes. Many of the 15,745 excluded as likely to become a public charge and of the 2,793 excluded as contract laborers belonged to the induced and assisted classes. Doubtless many others who were admitted ought to have been excluded on one ground or another because members of such classes; but it is not an easy matter to ascertain that inducements have been held out and assistance rendered, coaching on these points being readily and frequently availed of to circumvent the law and defeat our officers." In fact, the procurement of tangible evidence, however suspicious any case may appear, is often practically impossible.

It can not be too often emphasized that immigration of today, for the greater part, is dislodged from its European moorings primarily by self-constituted and unregulated promoters who stimulate an unnatural outflow to this country. While natural immigration results, as Mr. Husband says, from an economic law which is universally recognized and which it is generally conceded could not well be set aside, at the same time this economic law "is constantly being interfered with by artificial influences, back of which is the desire

for gain on the part of those who profit through the movement. Chief among these influences are the army of steamship agents and brokers operating in Europe and to some extent in the United States; the trans-Atlantic transportation companies, with the railroads and lesser steamship lines which serve as feeders for them, and employers in the United States who demand an exhaustless supply of cheap labor. The artificial promotion of emigration and immigration by such agencies is contrary to the policy of practically all emigrant-furnishing countries as well as to the policy of the United States. Such artificial promotion is thought to be detrimental to the economic welfare of the countries concerned, and it is also the general belief that the welfare of the immigrants as a class is more or less seriously affected by the operations of the system."[1]

"There are hosts of immigrants passing through the portals of Ellis Island every year," says Professor Fairchild, "whose venture is based on a sad misconception. There are also countless numbers who would never have engaged in the undertaking had not the idea of doing so been forcibly and persistently instilled into their minds by some outside agency. In other words, a very large part of our present immigration is not spontaneous and due to natural causes, but is artificial and stimulated. This stimulation consists in creating the desire and determination to migrate, by

[1] Appendix to the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914.

inducing dissatisfaction with existing conditions as compared with what the New World has to offer. Its source is in some interested person or agency whose motive may, or may not, be selfish."[1]

Referring to immigration which is stimulated by the labor agents, Professor Fairchild says it is "far from being so desirable as that which is natural and spontaneous. It follows no natural laws," he says, "and responds to no economic demand in this country. It is likely to be of injury rather than of benefit to the United States, and works untold injustice to the immigrants. It is regarded as pernicious by all fair-minded observers, and the United States Government has made serious efforts to check it."[2] But these efforts, it should be stated, have been of little avail. "Probably never in the history of our country has artificially stimulated immigration formed so large a part of the whole as now."[3]

As to induced immigration, the same author states that it is impossible to say to just what extent our present immigration ought to be classified as such. "It is probable that only a very small part of the total immigration is wholly free from stimulation to some degree. Certain it is that a very large proportion of it is thoroughly artificial and induced. The getting of immigrants is now a thoroughly developed system, planned to

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 148.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

serve the needs of every form of interest which might profit thereby."[1] And in support of this conclusion Professor Fairchild refers his reader to *The Problem of the Immigrant,* by Jas. D. Whelpley.

This influence and activity of innumerable promoters of artificial immigration has resulted in our recent flood-tide of aliens. It is this operating cause that now overshadows all other forces back of immigration. Let us remember constantly that much of our immigration since 1890 has come in response to inducements of transportation companies and American employers operating through various methods and devices. At the same time, let us not question or denounce the motive back of these efforts so much as strive to prevent it from dominating and determining our national policy towards immigration.

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration,* p. 161.

CHAPTER VI

"BIRDS OF PASSAGE"

Stimulated and induced immigration is responsible, in large part, for what has come to be known as non-immigrant aliens or "birds of passage." These comprise temporary immigration. There are no means of knowing its extent other than the alien's own testimony as to his intention at the time of arrival. This, of course, can not always be relied upon as representing the facts. Then, too, the alien may later change his intention. He is more inclined, possibly, to record his coming as permanent in the belief that it will facilitate his admittance, and in consequence the volume of temporary immigration is probably greater than the statistics indicate. Nevertheless, this means of measuring this characteristic of immigration's flow and ebb does give us some conception of the growing magnitude of this tendency.

The intention as to permanency of residence in the United States is not the same with large numbers of those making up our more recent immigration as it was with the earlier immigrant groups. In its Report, the Federal Commission of Immigration says: "The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The

new immigration is very largely one of individuals, a considerable proportion of whom apparently have no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to take advantage temporarily of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country. This, of course, is not true of all the new immigrants, but the practice is sufficiently common to warrant referring to it as a characteristic of them as a class."

This tendency is also reflected in the fact that the larger part of recent immigration is not of families but of individuals. This is shown in the statement that of our immigration in 1914 as much as two-thirds—as many as 799,000—were males between the ages of fourteen and forty-four, one-half of whom were unmarried. Even among those who were married, large numbers left their families at home and came only for a temporary stay.

Whenever the number of arriving aliens is found to be about equally divided between males and females, we can nearly always safely conclude that this particular immigration is of a more or less permanent character, that is, that the individuals composing it are coming to the United States with the intention of making this country the future home of themselves and their children. At the outset of immigration to our shores from any particular country there is usually a preponderance of males over females, the men leaving their wives and children at home until they test out the opportunities and prospects, and as these

prove favorable and the men are successful, then they send or return for the female members of their family.

Of our Slavic immigration, for illustration, that of the Poles and Bohemians and Moravians is much older in point of time as to its first arrival upon our shores than is that of the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins or of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians or of the Russians. In consequence, the proportion of females to males is very much larger in the present immigration of the first mentioned than in that of the last three groups. The sex differences in our present, compared with the earlier, immigration accord with the fact that the immigrants from northwestern Europe came to a large extent in families to settle permanently in this country, while many of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe today are single men coming only temporarily.

Somewhat the same tendency is indicated by an analysis of the proportion of children among the immigrants. The average for the total is thirteen out of every one hundred. For the Slavic Bohemians and Moravians, as much as one-fifth of their total immigration in 1914—twenty out of every one hundred—was of aliens under fourteen years of age; for the Slavic Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins the children were not one-twentieth of the total—not quite five out of every one hundred—and for the Slavic Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians those under fourteen years of age formed only four per cent. Among

the Russians the children formed not quite five out of every one hundred arrivals. Most of the older immigrant nationalities show a much larger proportion of children than the average. So do some of the newer immigrant groups, such as the Hebrew, which has the largest proportion of children to its total immigration of any other group; also the Magyar, the Slovak, and the Bohemian and Moravian.

Again, as indicative of the tendency in regard to temporary immigration, we find that of the 634,000 aliens leaving this country in 1914 only nine per cent. went to England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, while as much as forty-four per cent. of the remaining 578,000 went to Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, the latter countries supplying by far the greater volume of our more recent immigration.

Among those immigrants who come here only temporarily and with the expectation of returning permanently to their European homes are the Slovaks from Hungary. They emigrate from that country with the fixed determination to go back as soon as they make what is a fortune in their eyes, and this they usually accomplish within eight or ten years, some sooner, through practicing the closest economy. They are among the most frugal people living. To indicate how strong is their intention to return home, United States Consul Sterne reports to the State Department that "some of the better-to-do families give their

daughters in marriage to men upon the special condition that after a reasonably lengthy honeymoon the husband must go to America to make his fortune, when he may come back again to his wife." In the meantime, from his wages earned here, he has sent his wife the necessary means of living.

United States Consul Jonas in reporting to our Government on emigration to this country from Hungary[1] states that it does not consist of families leaving for America with the fixed intention of settling here permanently and becoming American citizens. On the contrary, he says: "There is a constant stream of Hungarian emigrants going to the United States, and a constant stream is returning to Hungary. I have it on the authority of emigration agents and officers at the leading German ports that in some seasons the number of Hungarians returning from the United States has nearly equalled the number of Hungarian emigrants going thither. They try to earn and save some money in the United States, and then to bring it back to buy property or to place it at interest. And very often, having invested their American savings here, they return again to the United States in search of employment, to effect new savings to be again carried off or sent to their native land."

Our Greek immigration, too, is largely of a temporary character, those coming here still retaining allegiance to their mother country, as is witnessed

[1] United States Consular Reports, Vol. 32.

to by the fact that during the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 as many as forty-five thousand returned to Greece to serve in the Greek army. The Greek men come here alone usually and with the dominant idea of making what they consider a fortune in a few years; with this they return to their families in Greece, purchase a small farm or shop, and spend the remainder of their days in comparative comfort among their own race. Of the Greek immigration in 1914 less than thirteen out of every one hundred were females—more than eighty-five per cent. were males over fourteen years of age.

Many "birds of passage" are Italians who find work here in various occupations during certain months of the year, earning sufficient in that time with which to pay their transportation back home and to enable them to live there until the next season, with enough money left over to pay their return passage. United States Consul Crouch reporting from Italy states that the records of the booking agents in Milan show many of the emigrants to the United States to be stone masons, who come in the spring months, and being excellent workmen readily find employment at good wages; in the fall they return with their earnings and spend the winter comfortably at their homes. The following spring frequently finds them on their way back to America again. This is true also of many agricultural workers and laborers on railway and like out-door construction work which the rigors of the weather will not per-

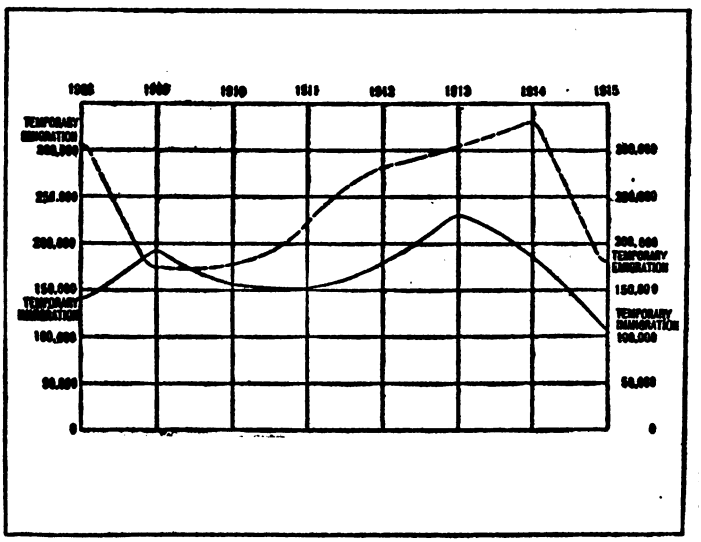
mit to be carried on to advantage in the winter months.

The movements in temporary immigration and emigration are influenced by the same tidal forces which annually affect our total immigration and emigration. Their seasonal and monthly movements are also, in general, similar. The Federal Bureau of Immigration classifies these arrivals as non-immigrant on the inward and non-emigrant on the outward journey, the former including all aliens residing abroad who are making a temporary trip to the United States and the latter all alien residents of this country who are making a temporary trip abroad. The movement to and from the United States of all other aliens is permanent immigration or emigration as the case may be.

This temporary immigration and emigration reflects a condition of seasonal demand in this country for cheap, unskilled labor. Being supplied largely by aliens from Europe, this results in a constant inflow and outflow of immigrants. These temporary arrivals make up on the average twenty out of every one hundred immigrants. In 1914 temporary departures formed fifty-two out of every one hundred aliens leaving the United States.

Sometimes as much as forty-nine per cent. of the total temporary immigration of the entire year arrives on our shores during the four months only of March, April, May, and June. The proportion of the arrivals in these four months has not fallen

below thirty-two per cent. in a single year since 1907. Temporary emigration usually takes place in largest numbers during May, June, and July, and in November and December. There are years when January also has shown a comparatively large number of departing aliens.



TEMPORARY IMMIGRATION AND TEMPORARY EMIGRATION

Taking temporary immigration of aliens in the single year 1914, when it amounted to one hundred and eighty-five thousand—forty-five thousand less than in the preceding year—it is safe to say that no orator ever addressed an assemblage so large. The great stadium on Franklin Field at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia where the spectacular foot-ball game between the

Army and Navy teams is played accommodates about twenty-five thousand people. If you have ever seen that crowd filling every available point of vantage, with tier upon tier rising one above the other on three sides of the field, then you have some conception of what twenty-five thousand people means. Fill and empty Franklin Field seven times and you have some idea of the size of this temporary immigration to our shores. Here are about three thousand three hundred and eighty arrivals in a single day, one hundred and forty in a single hour, and more than two every minute of the day and night—and they are coming only temporarily.

This temporary immigration at the opening of the European War was larger in volume than the total annual inflow of most of the years prior to 1880. It has come to be one of the most serious aspects of all the different economic and social, and racial factors entering in to give to us the immigration problem. Those composing this temporary movement are by it torn away from their permanent home ties and prevented from forming new ones here. They do not come to this country to become a responsible part of society; they seldom are affected by those communal influences which would tend to improve their standard of living, and they retain for the greater part those Old-World notions and habits of thought which unfit them to become members of our democratic society and to fit into our republican institutions. Even more, as Consul Jonas says in reporting to the

United States Government upon emigration to this country from Hungary: "It does not require any argument to demonstrate that such immigration is no gain, but a positive loss, to the United States. It has a tendency to glut the American labor market; it creates an unfair competition for the American workingman; in short, it is, in its general effect, tantamount to the importation of cheap foreign labor under contract."[1] And against this the American people have already expressed their opposition in statute form.

This growing tendency of a lack of permanent interest in this country on the part of the more recent immigrant races is pointed out in the report of the Committee on Immigration of the National Civic Federation which was presented at its sixteenth annual meeting in Washington, D. C., in 1916. This report says: "A large proportion of our present-day immigrants (80 per cent. between the ages of eighteen and forty-four, and nearly 70 per cent. is male) are single or unattached men who seem to look on this country only as a means to make considerable sums of money in a short period of time and with which they hope to reëstablish themselves in their native land. It is estimated that approximately thirty per cent. finally return home for good. From the standpoint of competition with the permanent labor supply in this country it is one of the worst aspects of a troublesome industrial situation. Such a characteristic in a considerable portion of our

[1] United States Consular Reports, Vol. 32.

recent immigrants means a mobile, migratory, disturbing 'bird-of-passage' class of workers, always moving where the slightest increase in wages is evident, always competing on a single standard basis, which is in many cases extremely low, and who think mainly of their own immediate economic needs with no permanent interest in the welfare of this country."

CHAPTER VII

THE EBB OF THE TIDE

The development of temporary immigration has naturally resulted in increasing the volume of emigration from our shores back to Europe. This outflow is immigration's ebb tide. It is not the same as the decline in the number of alien arrivals in one period compared with that immediately preceding. This difference between the volume of immigration at two separate periods is more similar to the difference between high tide and low tide. Immigration's ebb, on the other hand, is emigration from the United States—the departure of aliens from our shores to their native land either temporarily or permanently. Emigration is thus a separate and distinct movement from a decline in immigration although usually operating simultaneously with it. The process of emigration takes back to European countries elements which immigration brought before the decline set in.

A gauge with which to measure emigration prior to 1908 is not available, the United States Bureau of Immigration having kept no record. But since then the commanding officer of every vessel taking alien passengers out of the country is required by

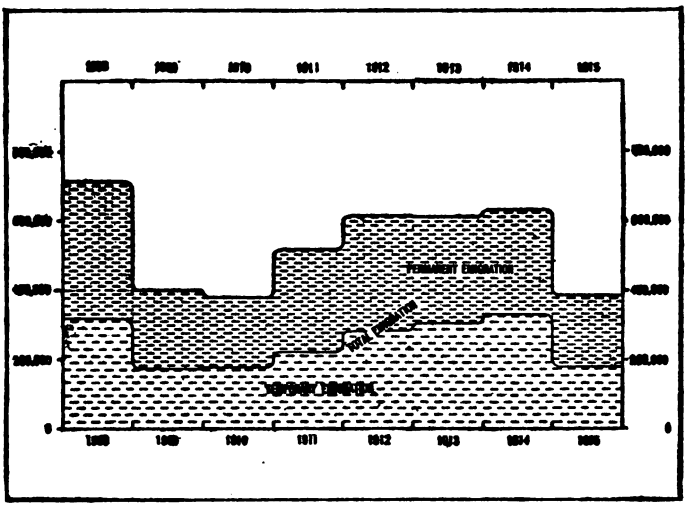
law to file at the port of departure and with the Federal collector of customs a complete list of such passengers with the name, age, sex, nationality, residence in the United States, occupation, and the time of last arrival of each.

The volume of emigration for each year since 1907 is shown in the diagram on page 76. In October, 1907, occurred a financial panic of considerable severity. This was followed by industrial depression, which was accompanied by the operation of some industries on reduced time and the closing entirely of others. Unemployment on a large scale ensued. This affected the volume of emigration, increasing it to unprecedented proportions. The result is that the use of our tide gauge shows at the outset abnormal emigration—it was the largest in volume of any year of which we have a record. In 1910 it was a little over three hundred and eighty thousand, this being the smallest emigration. Thus the volume of emigration, like that of immigration, is not regular and constant but varies at different years.

Emigration also varies at different months of the year, that is, it has its seasonal fluctuations. The months of largest emigration—those during which the flood-tide of alien departures from the United States is taking place—are usually June, November, and December. The months when the fewest number leave this country are January and February. For the remaining seven months emigration is fairly constant.

It has been shown that industrial depression in

this country causes a decrease in immigration to the United States. The effect upon emigration is just the reverse—it causes it to increase. Thus, both immigration and emigration bear a very close relation to bad times in this country, just as they do to good times. There is evidence available to



THE ANNUAL EBB OF THE IMMIGRATION TIDE
(Illustrating Temporary, Permanent, and Total Emigration)

prove that immigration is a contributory cause of these bad times, but here we are concerned only with the effects of good and bad times upon immigration and emigration.

The tidal forces back of emigration from the United States are the negative or reverse effects of the positive forces causing immigration. These are the economic factors producing industrial de-

pression or recession in business activity. Emigration from the United States hardly ever takes place in any large volume when business in this country is good. It not infrequently occurs when business in Europe is bad if there is a like situation here. Just as prosperity here increases immigration to, so "bad" times increase emigration from, our shores. This statement explains nearly every important variation both in the flow and the ebb of the immigration tide. It also emphasizes the fact that conditions in the United States and not those in European countries are the basal forces behind emigration from, as well as of immigration to, this country.

Comparing the flow and ebb of the immigration tide, we get surprisingly interesting and valuable results. The comparison is made for each year since 1907 in the diagram on page 206, the inclusion of years prior to that time being prevented by the lack of official information. A study of this diagram reflects the very interesting fact that the economic forces at work causing immigration to increase either bring emigration to a standstill or cause it to decrease. Practically never do immigration to and emigration from the United States increase at the same time; nor do they decrease at the same time.

A comparison of immigration and emigration as to their seasonal fluctuations verifies the statement as to the movements of immigration and emigration being usually in inverse relation—emigration increasing or decreasing as immigration decreases

or increases. These movements are not always reflected accurately in the statistics because of the overlapping of the effects in the official records after the causes producing these effects have ceased to operate. With immigration at its seasonal flood-tide in March, April, and May, emigration is usually at a low point, the latter rising to its flood-tide in June, November, and December, when the number of arriving aliens is comparatively small.

The effect of the European War upon emigration was such as to give an increase in the number of aliens here by reducing the volume of those emigrating to less than it would have been under ordinary circumstances, that is, it had the effect of keeping in the United States many immigrants who otherwise would have returned to Europe. This explains in part the unusual seriousness of the unemployment problem which was so acute in our large eastern cities in the winter of 1914, many aliens who, but for the war, would have returned to their European homes remaining in this country.

There was a time when emigration from the United States was of little importance and consequently not of much significance; today it is a very serious phase of our immigration problem. It first became conspicuous in the panic of the early nineties; it was a more striking phenomenon in the panic of 1907. There were months following that year when a larger number left the country than came into it. For weeks every steerage

accommodation in every outgoing vessel was crowded, and thousands swarmed into the ports of departure waiting a chance to secure passage to Europe.

The significance of this movement of aliens out of the country is explained in *The Immigrant Invasion.*[1] In brief, it reflects not only the exhaustion of the "boundless extent of our fertile and unoccupied land" that is within the means of the immigrant, but also a change in the tendency that was so conspicuous in the nineteenth century when the great interior West was the "natural outlet—the national safety-valve—especially in times of business and industrial depression." This migration from the eastern into the western states alternated with immigration from Europe. The latter, as we have seen, came during good times; migration to the West was most conspicuous in bad times. "The movement of population from Europe was rapid in good times and slow in bad times. The movement of population westward was just the reverse—it was slow in good times and rapid in bad times. The waves of population that good times washed upon our shores were taken up by the forces behind our bad times and carried beyond the Alleghenies." Today this population makes up our emigration to Europe.

There are those who point to this emigration from the United States, and in particular during times of industrial depression, as a healthy sign of the natural operation of economic laws work-

[1] Warne: *The Immigrant Invasion,* pp. 188 and 216.

ing to deplete our over-stocked labor market. Rather is it an indication of our inability longer to assimilate economically the huge volume of immigrants, and the establishment of temporary immigration as a permanent tendency of this great movement of populations.

The panic of 1907 emphasized this recent development. "Bad times" here now force the immigrants by the hundreds of thousands back to their European homes, where they remain until another period of prosperity in the United States again causes them to swarm to our shores. This condition has been encouraged by the remarkable development of ocean transportation, which makes it less difficult and much cheaper than formerly for the immigrant to return to Europe.

In the thirties and forties immigrant parties were sometimes five months on the way from their native home to their destination in the United States. Then they came on sailing vessels and reached the interior West only by means of slow journeys by wagon, canal, and steamboat. Today, from almost any center of Europe, the immigrant can reach his destination, even though it be in the interior of the United States, within at most two weeks after leaving his sailing port. This has been made possible by the rapid progress in land and water transportation. Its effect upon our industrial conditions is apparent. It permits the immigrant to return home when times here are not so prosperous and makes all immigrant labor a mobile commodity affecting seriously the market

price of labor and wages. Besides, and this is of importance, our earlier immigrants came here to live permanently.

Virtually all these had no other intention than to make this country the future home of themselves and their children. They came, in fact, in families and not, as is true of a large part of the immigration of today, in droves of single men. The authors of *Reminiscences of America in 1869* tell us that the Germans "usually come to seek farms in the West. They arrive in families or companies from the same locality, and bring their furniture with them and all the necessary implements of husbandry." The earlier Bohemian immigration from Austria also consisted mostly of whole families moving with the intention of establishing their home in America—it was a movement of families as distinguished from that of individuals. Emigration from Norway also was "by families, and the Norwegian emigrant usually had large families, too. Invariably the men took their women with them."[1]

Another important fact which had its influence in causing the earlier immigration to be of a permanent character was the possibility of ownership in land, large tracts of which could be had in this country at the time almost for the asking. The *Emigrant and Old Countryman,* in its issue of July 12, 1837, referring to "the multitudes of emigrants chiefly British, German, and Swiss who are

[1] Flom: *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States,* p. 119.

passing up Lake Erie on their way to the far West" in Michigan and Illinois, stated that "although the greater part of them travel in their humble garb and after the cheapest fashion, yet they carry with them abundance of farming stock and utensils, great store of useful and plain clothing and, though last not least, much money for the purchase of land." A company of one thousand Hollanders who had purchased two townships in Iowa "brought with them their own merchandise and artisans, and came in every way prepared to take care of themselves and to become citizens of their adopted country." Swedish and Norwegian immigrants to Illinois came to "locate on a large tract of land purchased from the Government."

Consul Lang, reporting from Hamburg, said that the emigrants "are urged by a direct wish and an implacable desire to become landowners."[1] Consul Millar in reporting from Leipsic stated that among the causes of emigration is the "desire for the easier acquisition of land."[1] Consul Dittmer in reporting from Stettin expressed his belief that "the main impulse is given to emigration by the desire of the emigrants to become with proportionately small means the owners of a pretty substantial farm, which desire they can realize (at home) in the rarest cases, perhaps never."[1] From Norway Consul Bordewich reported that "the main cause of the Norwegian emigration is their desire to better their condition, the prospect

[1] Executive Document No. 157, House of Representatives, Forty-Ninth Congress, Second Session.

of obtaining free or cheap land being possibly the strongest inducement." Consul Roosevelt, reporting to the United States Government from Bordeaux in 1886, stated that the French emigrants left for this country "to better their condition of life and, if possible, to become owners of homes."

In contrast with this earlier immigration which came here intending to remain permanently and to become part of our social organization, we have today in large numbers industrial toilers whose coming here is only temporary and who make up the greater part of emigration from our shores.

CHAPTER VIII

THROUGH THE TIDE GATES

THE immigration tide gains access to the United States principally through the north Atlantic ports of entry of the steamship lines. These ports are the tide gates. In the order of importance they are New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Through New York at Ellis Island come nearly three-fourths of all our immigrants. They rush in at times with great velocity, there being single months when nearly two hundred thousand arrive, as in June, 1913. At each of the tide gates are stationed officials of the United States Government to enforce the laws enacted by Congress for the admission of these aliens.

"The volume of business transacted on Ellis Island each year is immense," says Professor Fairchild. "There are in all about six hundred and ten officials, including ninety-five medical officers and hospital attendants, engaged in administering the law at this station. The force of interpreters is probably the largest in the world, gathered under a single roof."[1] "During the year 1907 five thousand was fixed as the maximum

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 185.

number of immigrants who could be examined at Ellis Island in one day (according to the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration); yet during the spring of that year more than fifteen thousand immigrants arrived at the port of New York in a single day."[1]

Can you conceive in your mind's eye of more than one million four hundred thousand people? There is no human experience that will enable one to grasp their multitudinous extent. And yet this many immigrant men, women, and children passed through our tide gates in 1914, not including those foreign born entering who had become citizens of the United States. This number is sufficient to repopulate Connecticut; it is almost equal to the present population of West Virginia or the state of Washington.

Let us assume that all these immigrants came at one time without interruption through the tide gate at New York City and that it is physically possible to review them as they pass in. Do you know how long it would take you to see them go by in single file at the rate of twenty a minute? And this, it should be remembered, is pretty fast marching. You will spend almost forty days and forty nights without meals and without sleep watching the procession! If they pass in greater numbers, say ten abreast and four files a minute—at the rate of forty a minute—it will take nearly twenty days of twenty-four hours each, Sundays

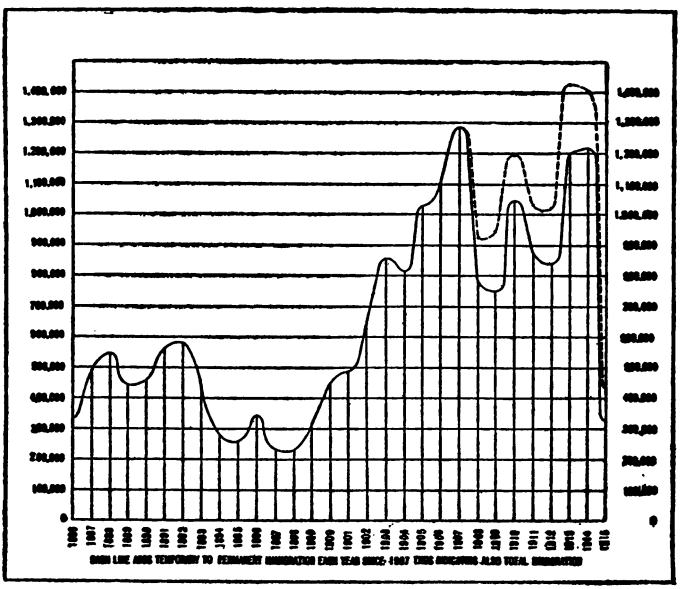
[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 187.

and holidays included, before the last file marches by.

If assembled at one point, it would be the same as gathering together the entire populations of both Boston and St. Louis. Even then there would be an excess of fifty thousand, a number sufficient to fill Madison Square Garden in New York City twice over. Never in the history of the United States has there been a single event at which such an enormous number of people were assembled at one place and at one time. So many are they that it would be physically impossible for them to be washed upon our shores by a single tidal wave rushing through a single tide gate on a single day. This would be impossible because there are not steamships enough to bring this many people at one time or room enough in New York harbor to permit their anchoring or docking, or space enough on Ellis Island to hold this large population, or officials enough to inspect so many immigrants, or accommodations enough in New York City in which to lodge these aliens. Such a tidal wave, in fact, would utterly overwhelm and literally submerge all the Government's plant and machinery for regulating the admission of arriving aliens.

The volume of the annual flow of the immigration tide with its undulating tidal waves over a period of years is illustrated in the diagram on the next page. It shows that the flow varies in volume at different years. The smallest immigration during the past thirty years, for example,

was in 1898 when the arrivals numbered only 229,000; the highest point touched was in 1907 when there was recorded more than 1,285,000 arrivals. This is the largest single yearly inflow or tidal wave of permanent immigration in our history.



THE ANNUAL FLOW OF IMMIGRATION THE PAST THIRTY YEARS

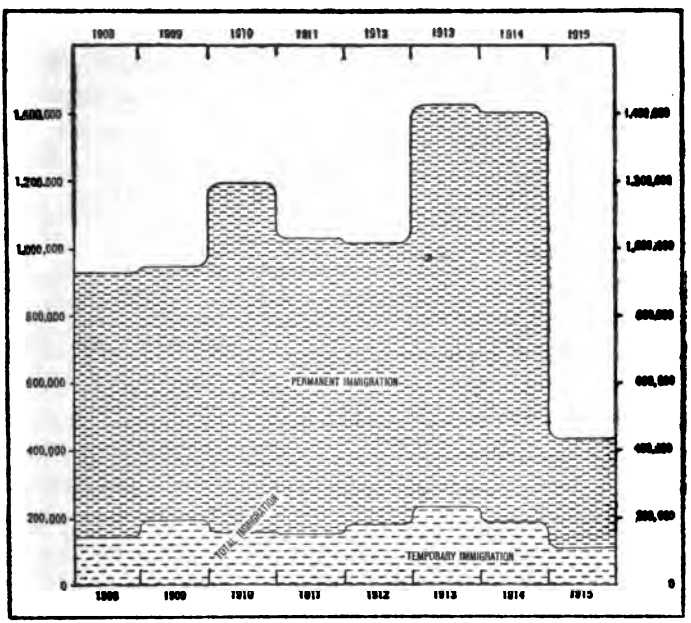
Prior to that year the Government record took no account of temporary arrivals. By including these non-immigrant aliens the volume of permanent immigration is increased about twenty per cent. The effect of this for the past eight years is also shown in the chart on page 89. Even this larger total does not include those for-

eign born immigrating who have become naturalized citizens of the United States, there being no available statistics as to this element in our immigration tide.

According to Mr. Robert Watchorn, formerly Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, these immigrants are in the "formative years of youth and manhood, splendid years"; they comprise "the youth and strength and vigor and ambition of foreign lands"; their immigration to our shores "is an influx of bright, ambitious men and women, the brawn and backbone of any country." In further commenting upon the character of our immigration, Commissioner Watchorn says:

"We can not have too much of the right kind of immigration; we can not have too little of the wrong kind. We are seeing to it that we get the right kind—of that I am certain. The steamship companies have learned that it does not pay them to ship any old sort of immigrant to this country. The reason why they have come to know this is that we catch the undesirable aliens at this island and make the company take them back at its own expense, plus also the cost of maintaining them while they are in this port. We sent back so many persons in this way that the steamship companies finally issued letters to their agents all over the world saying that it was absolutely useless for them to send on would-be Americans who were ailing in body or mind, or who were otherwise ineligible to land under the immigration laws of the

United States. The refusal of steamship companies to carry undesirable immigrants is one of the greatest checks upon pernicious immigration that I know of. Last year, for instance, the various steamship companies refused to bring twenty



TOTAL ANNUAL IMMIGRATION, SHOWING ALSO PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY

thousand aliens to this country, not through any deep regard for our laws, of course, but simply for their own interests, knowing that we would have sent them back even if they had brought them here."[1]

[1] *Facts on Immigration,* National Civic Federation.

Considered strictly from the economic point of view and rigidly excluding the social and political meaning of the descriptive adjectives of which Mr. Watchorn makes use, there is much truth in what he says. Of our permanent immigration in 1914 as many as eighty-one out of every one hundred —a total of 982,000—were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four. Of these, 668,000 were males and 314,000 females. The races supplying a greater proportion in this age group than the average of eighty-one per cent. include virtually all the Slavs (excepting the Slovaks, Bohemians and Moravians), Finns, Greeks, Irish, Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Ruthenians, Scandinavians, and Turks. Among the French, Hebrews, English, and Scotch those in this age group formed a proportion considerably less.

Regarded merely as an economic means to production, this rough, unskilled, illiterate immigrant between fourteen and forty-four does possess "youth," "strength," "vigor," "brawn and backbone." And all these are valuable and important in the process of wealth production in which this country is principally engaged at the present time. More than this, all these admirable economic qualities are brought to us without the expense of their production, this having been borne by the country of the immigrant's birth and rearing. On the assumption that it costs on the average five hundred dollars to rear each alien to the age of fourteen, we had presented to us as a country in 1914 by all

the various geographical sections of Europe immigrants between the ages of fourteen and forty-four alone of the enormous money value of $491,000,000. No slight element, this, in the balancing of international trade! In addition, they brought with them in cash an amount in excess of $42,500,000. They paid as head tax to the United States Government a total of more than $5,000,000.

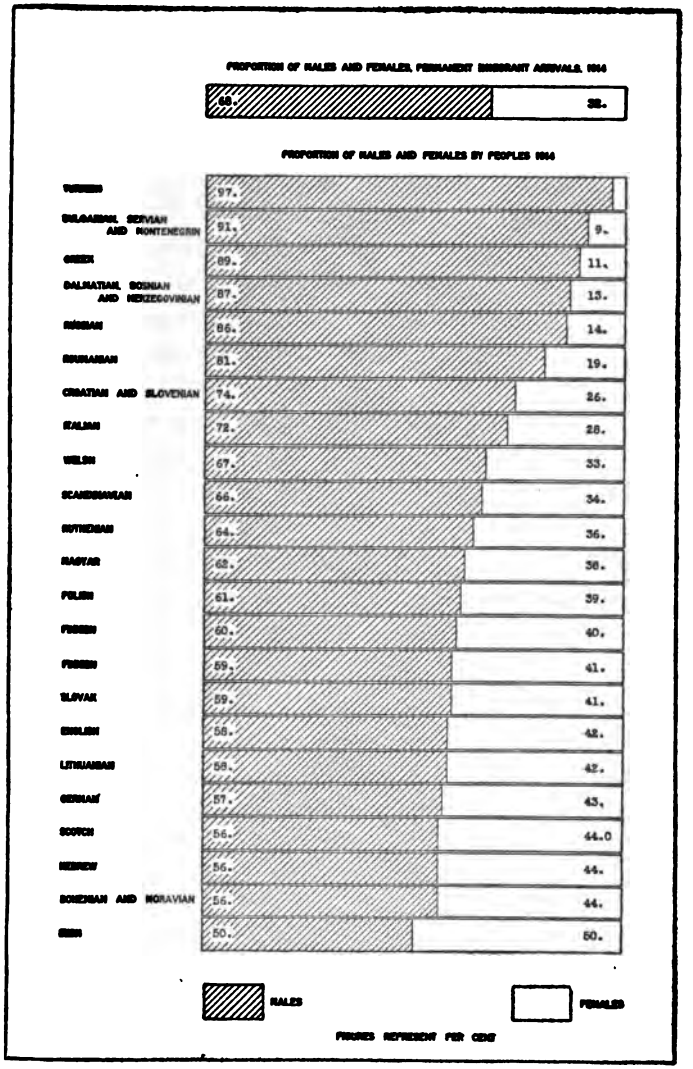
From the economic point of view of the nation these amounts are offset by the sums annually sent abroad by the foreign born, the total amount being estimated as high as $300,000,000, and it is part of this much larger sum sent out of the country that the arriving immigrants bring with them. Then, too, as an offset to the head tax contribution is the expense of $2,600,000 which the United States Government spent in 1914 in the conduct of its immigration service. It should be plain that we are not here attempting to strike a balance as to the money value and cost of immigration to this country, but are merely pointing out some suggestive facts.

When our total permanent immigration between the ages of fourteen and forty-four is considered, there are two males out of every three immigrants. This proportion varies, of course, among the different races, some sending more females and others fewer. For instance, virtually all the Turks coming here are males—ninety-seven out of every one hundred—while as to the Irish there is as large an immigration of females as of males.

No other group shows this same tendency along with those from Ireland. Among the more important races giving a much greater proportion than two males for every female immigrant are nearly all the Slavic group, and Greeks, Italians, and Roumanians, the last three mentioned contributing four males for every female. As a general statement, among the older immigrant nationalities there is a nearer approach to an equal number of the sexes immigrating. This is also true of some of the newer immigrant races, such as the Bohemians and Moravians, the Hebrews, the Lithuanians, and the Slovaks.

Only one-third of our permanent immigration is made up of females. These in 1914 numbered four hundred and twenty thousand, of which three-fourths were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four. By far the larger number —as many as one hundred and eighty-four thousand—were unmarried. Exactly thirty out of every one hundred of all female immigrants are between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one years.

This unequal distribution of the sexes in the present immigration of many of our races results in serious social evils. The males leave their mates in Europe but they bring their passions with them. This is not infrequently the real explanation of the horrible deeds of atrocity and murder of which accounts occasionally break through to the consciousness of the native population from



SEX DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS 14 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE

behind the veil of almost impenetrable secrecy with which alien tongues and customs and habits surround the communal life in the "foreign" colonies. Many of these crimes are never heard of by the native population outside the locality of their commission. The news sense of the English-speaking editor causes him to eliminate the unpronounceable and unspellable names, and the general lack of interest among the native population in such an event by unknown participants results in the news item of the crime becoming "just a stick," if even that much, in some obscure column. I do not know—I know no one who might know, because scientific information is lacking on the subject—but I venture the assertion that if the facts were ascertainable they would prove that certain crimes of a peculiarly atrocious character among our alien population diminish according as the number of the sexes approach an equality. Where there is an unnatural disproportion of males to females there we find such offences and crimes of common occurrence.

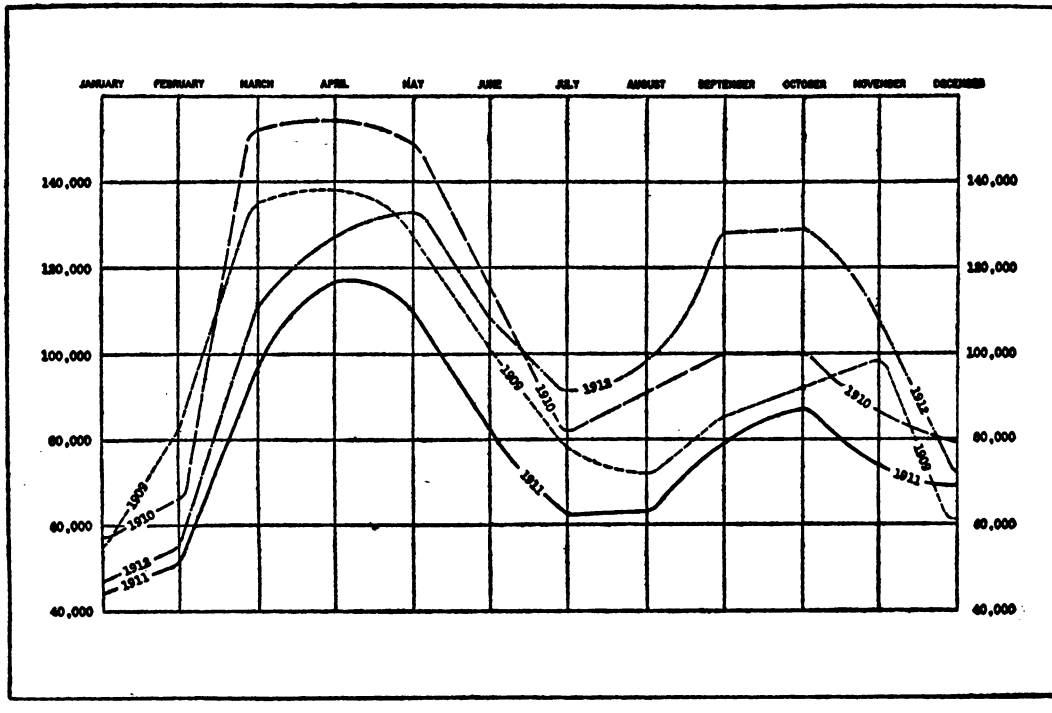
In 1914 the total number of alien arrivals under fourteen years of age was nearly one hundred and fifty-nine thousand, and these were about equally divided between boys and girls, the males being slightly more numerous. Men and women who have arrived at the age of forty-five years and over are not conspicuous among our immigrants or rather they are conspicuous, too, but because of their absence. On the average, those of this age period formed only six per cent. of our 1914 im-

migration. Those races supplying a proportion considerably above the average were the Roumanian, English, French, Scotch, and Magyars; those whose contribution was much smaller than the average were the Turks, Russians, Finns, Lithuanians, Poles, and Greeks. The total arrivals of those in this age group exceeded seventy-eight thousand, not quite two-thirds of whom were men. In not a few cases the representatives of this group are the parents of immigrants who have become established here and they come to make their home with their children. Virtually all the members of this group, both males and females, have been or are at present in the state of marriage, only six out of every one hundred being unmarried. Those in this forty-five-year-and-over age group and the children formed two hundred and thirty-seven thousand of our total immigration in 1914.

It has already been shown that immigration from Europe comes during what we call "good times." It is rapid then and slow in "bad times." Our monthly record of arrivals passing through the tide gates throws an interesting sidelight on this aspect of the immigration tide. By far the larger volume arrives in the spring months when greater opportunities for employment are open. Conversely, the larger outflow, that is, emigration to Europe, manifests itself at the beginning of the winter months when opportunities for employment are not so numerous. The number of alien arrivals is at its highest and that of

alien departures at its lowest during the spring tide.

Immigration's seasonal or spring tide is regular and constant compared with other months of the year. The elements making up this spring tide gather from all parts of Europe at the ports of embarkation following the close of winter. By the first month of spring this tide begins to wash upon our shores, increasing in volume during March, April, May, and sometimes far into June. Usually, however, April shows the largest immigration of any single month of the year. The regularity year after year of this spring tide is indicated in the diagram on page 97, which shows total immigration by months for each of the four years from 1909 to 1912. The smallest proportion of the total yearly immigration that came in the four months March, April, May, and June was forty per cent. in 1912 and the largest proportion forty-six per cent. in 1910. In these four spring months we received as many as 1,957,000 or forty-four per cent. of the total immigration for the entire four years. This spring tide usually recedes by July and August. Immigration rises again during September, October, and November but not to its spring height, falling to its lowest point during December, January, and February. These three winter months usually mark the smallest number of arrivals of any like period during the year—they are immigration's neap tide. For the four years from 1909 to 1912 as small a proportion as one-sixth of



THE SPRING AND AUTUMN FLOW OF IMMIGRATION

all arriving aliens came during these winter months.

These are some of the characteristics of the immigration tide as it rushes through our tide gates. In addition, there are elements coming to our shores on this tide that do not always succeed in passing through to the tide basin within. These are the human derelicts of this great movement of population—the tide's flotsam and jetsam. Some are caught in the net at the gates and debarred; others who succeed in eluding the net are later apprehended and deported.

CHAPTER IX

DERELICTS OF THE TIDE

Not all aliens borne to our shores on the flow of the immigration tide gain access to the country. Under the laws enacted by Congress for the protection of the American people, aliens with specified physical, mental, moral, and economic defects are debarred and if brought here by the steamship company are sent back to the country from which they embarked. These are not statistically a part either of immigration to or emigration from the United States, as they are not included in the figures recording the number of arrivals and departures.

These aliens of the excluded classes who are floated to our gates on the currents of immigration are the tide's human derelicts. They usually are wrecks of humanity, pushed hither and thither in their helplessness by the powerful economic forces of the undercurrents of the immigration movement. And what a lot is this mass of human wreckage! Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded, insane, and epileptics; paupers and beggars and those likely to become such; those afflicted with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, such as trachoma and favus, and with tuberculosis;

those mentally, morally, and physically defective; criminals; prostitutes and procurers and other immoral aliens!

In the single year, 1914, the total number in the excluded classes who were debarred exceeded thirty-three thousand. Those likely to become a public charge, technically known as "L. P. C.'s," and paupers and professional beggars numbered 15,714, or nearly one-half of the total excluded. Those defective mentally and physically to such an extent as to make probable their inability to earn a living amounted to 6,537 or one-fifth of the total debarred. Together these two classes formed sixty-eight out of every one hundred excluded.

Among the 15,784 debarred because of their economic dependency, 2,215 or fourteen per cent. were Italians; English, Hebrews, and Russians came next in importance, these four groups supplying more than one-third. Of those of whom it was doubtful as to their ability to make a living, thirty-three per cent. were Italians and thirteen per cent. each Greeks and Hebrews, these three groups forming fifty-nine per cent. of this class.

Among those debarred in 1914 were 3,253 suffering from loathsome or contagious diseases, forming nearly ten per cent. of all those prevented from entering the country. By far the most numerous of these diseased aliens were afflicted with trachoma, these alone numbering 2,565 and comprising nearly four-fifths of all those debarred because of physical diseases. Tuberculosis and favus are also important among the contagious

diseases, the possession of which causes the alien to be refused admittance. These diseased aliens debarred in 1914 were most largely Italians, forming eighteen out of every one hundred, next Poles with ten, Hebrews with nine, and Syrians with eight out of every one hundred, these four groups supplying forty-five per cent. of all those debarred in this excluded class.

In the case of others temporarily unfit physically the Federal Government has established what might be called a repair shop in order to enable them to become qualified for entrance. This is by means of hospital treatment. In 1914 nearly one thousand aliens received such medical attention and of these ninety out of every one hundred were cured and admitted. Most of these—as many as sixty per cent.—were Japanese, and twenty-one per cent. Chinese. They were afflicted principally with uncinariasis and usually required hospital treatment of less than one month. Nearly four-fifths of these hospital cases were at the San Francisco and Seattle ports of entry on the Pacific Coast.

The immigrants excluded in 1914 because they were mentally defective, such as the feeble-minded, the insane, imbeciles, epileptics, and idiots, supplied 1,274 or four per cent. of the total debarred. Within this class the feeble-minded were by far the most numerous, comprising seventy-eight per cent. Of this class the Italians contributed nearly fifty-five out of every one hundred.

The detection of those whose defects bring them

within this class of undesirable aliens is surrounded with great difficulty. The Commissioner-General of Immigration, in his 1914 Report, says: "Medical science has demonstrated that many, if not all, of these serious mental deficiencies are handed down from generation to generation, with steady increase in the strain; so that the importance of rejecting and expelling aliens of this class, even to the extent shown to have occurred, can hardly be overstated. The law on this subject should be even more strict; and the bureau urgently recommends that legislation supplementary to the excellent provisions of the existing law be enacted at an early date, so that the people of this country may be fully protected against the introduction here from abroad of additional strains of latent but none the less dangerous cerebral deficiencies, as well as against the introduction of such strains actually developed into acute stages. Why should our difficulties on this score, already sufficiently great, be increased by immigration?"[1]

A word of explanation as to Italians holding first place among the total number of immigrants debarred and also among the dependents, diseased, and mental defectives who were denied admittance in 1914. The statement does not mean that there is a greater tendency among Italians than among other races towards the defects of these excluded classes but simply that, because the Italian immigration is larger than that of any other race, naturally a larger number of them is con-

[1] Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914, p. 7.

tributed to these groups. Among, say, one hundred thousand immigrants we should expect to find a larger number of defectives than among seventy-five thousand, and this would be true of any race. At the same time, it remains true that the contribution by the Italians to most of the excluded classes is larger than that of any other race.

Prostitutes and females coming for any immoral purpose, those supported by or receiving proceeds of prostitution, and aliens who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or females for immoral purposes who were debarred in 1914 numbered six hundred and thirty-nine or two per cent. of the total excluded. Virtually all of these were prostitutes and procurers, the former furnishing fifty-nine and the latter forty out of every one hundred. By far the larger number of both classes were Mexicans, next the English, then the Germans, the French, and the Hebrews.

While the Commissioner-General of Immigration believes it is important to exclude or expel the physically defective, and still more important that those mentally below the standard should be kept out, he also considers it of paramount importance that the morally degenerate shall not be permitted to lower American standards of life. "Wise, therefore," he says, "is the provision of the law that allows the sexually immoral to be deported without time limit, and the law should be the same with regard to criminals and anarchists. There should be no room in this country for the

moral degenerates of foreign lands. The bureau has been exerting special efforts to carry out the law concerning these classes."[1]

At the same time, in the case of the sexually immoral, it is hardly necessary to say, so obvious is the fact, states the same report, that the figures covering the deportation of prostitutes and procurers and so on, notwithstanding they show an increase over the work along these lines done in the preceding year, really cover no more than a mere "scratching of the surface." The bureau's activity in this direction is limited to causing the arrest in cases discovered or disclosed to it in the regular course of business, without putting forth any special efforts to "clean up" the country or sections of it. "I estimate, and in so doing consider myself exceedingly conservative," says the Commissioner-General, "that one million dollars could be spent in ridding the country of sexually immoral aliens, and that even after a judicious expenditure of that amount there would still be some work to do along the same line."

The economically dependent, those with mental or physical defects likely to prevent them from earning a living, the physically diseased, the mentally afflicted, and the morally defective make up eighty-four out of every one hundred immigrants excluded by the authorities in 1914. The remaining sixteen out of every one hundred debarred were contract laborers, criminals, children unaccompanied by parents, aliens accompanying im-

[1] Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914, p. 7.

migrants dependent upon them, assisted aliens, Chinese ineligible for admittance, those misusing passports, polygamists, and anarchists. Altogether there are twenty-six separate classes of aliens whom the present laws exclude from entrance into the country.

Those actually debarred are not all the immigrants whose mental or physical characteristics or immoral practices or economic status bring them within or very close to the line separating the admitted from those to whom admittance is refused. For illustration, in 1914 there were 8,584 appeals from the decisions of the Government officials who are called upon to pass judgment as to the qualifications of the immigrants and out of these appeals 2,814 aliens were admitted. In this many cases at least it was questionable as to whether the immigrant should be permitted to enter the country.

No one familiar with the conditions will contend that those debarred in 1914 or in any other year are all that should have been excluded under already existing laws. This is proven in the mere statement that of the 4,610 aliens deported in 1914 for various causes as many as 4,365 had been in this country only three years or less. The Commissioner-General, in his last annual report, says on this point: "All the efforts that are being made to secure a reasonable enforcement of the law are not producing the desired results. This must be obvious to all who will study the statistics and observe the aliens now entering at our ports.

Even the existing law, inadequate and cumbersome as it is in many respects, could and should be made to exclude many more than 2.3 per cent. of such aliens as are now coming to our shores. As a matter of fact, the country is not obtaining the results that should follow from a reasonable and just administration of our laws."[1]

It is very difficult, almost impossible, to arrive at any sound judgment, within the brief moment the immigrant is passing the inspector at the port of entry, as to the alien's physical, mental, moral, and economic status and the possibility of his becoming a public charge. Such a determination would be extremely questionable under any practical or conceivable circumstance. Besides, the rigidity or flexibility and the application of the rule of measurement vary at different times and with the attitude of the head of the Federal department in charge of immigration, fewer being excluded under one secretary than under another.

The facilities at our principal ports of entry for the examination of immigrants when they are pouring into the country in greatest volume at high tide are not adequate. In consequence, at such times thousands of aliens, diseased both mentally and physically, are permitted to enter, it being impossible properly to examine all those who present themselves for admittance. Mr. William Williams, while Commissioner of Immigration at

[1] Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914, p. 5.

Ellis Island, stated that of necessity many aliens are passed during the spring flood-tide who should be held for a second and more thorough examination but there were no accommodations for doing so. Provision at Ellis Island is made for only eighteen hundred persons at night and when twice that number arrive, as is not unusual in the spring months, the authorities are compelled to rush them through. When several steamships reach port the same day and the rush is on to get the immigrants past the inspectors, the medical officers must examine one hundred and fifty persons every five minutes if they are to keep the gangway clear and avert chaotic congestion. Under such conditions adequate inspection for the elimination of the unfit is impossible. This lack of time and of facilities for a thorough examination as to mental condition, for instance, is largely responsible for there being so many feeble-minded alien children in the public schools of New York; it accounts also, in part, for the large number of alien inmates in the Elmira Reformatory as well as for many alien members of our criminal class.

Ex-Commissioner Williams states that the principal class of immigrants securing admission when the rigidity of inspection is relaxed, who otherwise would be kept out, are those who are most dangerous to our national health. The feeble-minded and the epileptics and the defectives, whose condition requires more than superficial examination for discovery, are also among those who slip in at such times. These defectives marry and

disseminate the ailments they have brought into the country. Such aliens are made acquainted with the fact that in March and April, when large numbers of immigrants are coming to the United States, the examination must necessarily be conducted in a lax manner. Consequently those mentally and physically deficient take advantage of this rush season to gain entrance to the country. Once here, they are willing to enter a charitable institution, where they receive better care than they would at home.[1]

It is plain that all the débris, all the human derelicts washed to our shores by the flow of the immigration tide are not debarred at the tide gates but that some gain access to the tide basin within. These enter at the recognized ports of entry, at points along the northern and southern borders of the United States, by lakes and rivers, and at unguarded landings on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

"Enforcement of the exclusion laws along the borders and even the coast lines and along the lakes and rivers near our boundaries has always been and still is a difficult undertaking," says the Commissioner-General of Immigration. "With the best methods that can be devised and the best force that can be selected it will so continue as long as the Government has to deal with men who make a profession of smuggling and also with people so desirous of entering the country without inspection that to attain their object they will readily

[1] From an interview in the *New York Herald*, April 13, 1912.

assume any risk and pay high prices for the services rendered them, no matter how trivial."[1]

This branch of the immigration service has to its credit since its inauguration "the institution of proceedings against seventy-five persons found engaged in illegal importation of contraband Chinese, sixty-three of whom were arrested—thirty-two have been convicted, thirty are awaiting trial, one has been discharged—and the rest are fugitives from justice. During this period, as a result directly or indirectly of its operations, over four hundred alleged contraband aliens have been apprehended. It should be emphasized that the new system is not complete or extensive enough to cope with the organized efforts on the part of those who engage in the business of bringing aliens into this country contrary to law. This contraband traffic and illegal entry of aliens can only be broken up by a general and complete organization of border patrol and by active measures calculated to seek out, arrest, and deport all who are in the United States in violation of law, treaties, and agreements. More officers and better equipment are absolutely necessary both for land and sea service, so as to equal if not surpass at all times the means employed by the violators of our law."[1]

With a northern border along Canada of nearly four thousand miles in length; with a southern

[1] Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1914, pp. 20-22.

boundary line along Mexico not quite so extensive; with innumerable points advantageous for smugglers to ply their vocation and also for aliens, even unaided by guides, to gain access to the country; with few inspectors to guard these frontiers, coasts, lakes, and rivers—under such conditions the situation is met by the United States Government only in a limited degree.

All this is substantiated by the findings of the Immigration Commission. The report of that Federal investigating body says: "Many undeniably undesirable persons are admitted every year. The Commission's inquiries concerning defective and delinquent classes show this fact very clearly and in a way which, it is believed, will be thoroughly understood and appreciated. In theory, the law debars criminals, but in fact many enter; the law debars persons likely to become public charges, but data secured by the Commission show that too many immigrants become such within a short time after landing. The same is true of other classes nominally, at least, debarred by the law. In short, the law in theory, so far as its exclusion provisions are concerned, is exceptionally strong, but in effect it is, in some respects, weak and ineffectual."

That immigrants coming within the excluded classes gain access to the country in greater or less numbers is evidenced in the operation of the law providing for deportation. Any aliens entering the United States in violation of law and those who, after entering, become public charges from

causes existing prior to landing are subject to deportation at any time within three years after the date of entry in the case of specified classes, and without any time limit whatever in the case of others.

CHAPTER X

THE TIDE'S FLOTSAM AND JETSAM

IMMIGRANTS in possession of economic defects—those likely to become a public charge and those who actually become such—are among the most important of the excluded classes who escape detection at the time of entrance and are later apprehended and deported. These two groups made up fifty-three out of every one hundred deported in 1914. Germans, Italians, English, and Poles in the order named formed the four leading races whose members were likely to become a public charge, and Italians, Hebrews, Poles, and Germans those who had actually become such. Those entering without inspection, prostitutes and procurers, and criminals, were also of importance among the aliens deported.

The charge of pauperism is nowadays often hurled at the immigrant as one reason for the restriction of immigration. We are told by these restrictionists that "immigrants furnish three times their proportion of paupers"; that "our almshouses and charitable institutions are filled with them"; that "they supply thirty paupers out of every one thousand of their population in this country as compared with only three out of every

one thousand for the native population." And to substantiate these and like claims voluminous statistics on the subject are presented.

But in nearly every instance where these statistics have been thoroughly analyzed they present glaring defects in so far as proof of the major premise is considered. For illustration, the charge that "thirty out of every one thousand aliens become paupers" confuses the meaning of words. The term "alien" is commonly understood as meaning only the unnaturalized foreign born who have been in the United States less than five years. But the statistical evidence upon which this particular charge of pauperism is based includes also all foreign born who have been here anywhere from five to seventy years and more. This statistical evidence errs still further—in arriving at the proportion of thirty out of every one thousand, it considers only unnaturalized foreign-born males of twenty-one years of age and over and excludes women and children. Even if the women and children were included and if only the foreign born who have been in this country for five years and less were taken to show the prevalence of pauperism among aliens, the result might be interesting, but it certainly would not be of any practical value in measuring the economic dependency of immigrants as compared with that of the native population. This is true for many self-evident reasons, but in particular for the simple reason that the point does not have to be proven. It is admitted, even by the immigrants themselves.

The immigrants as a class are poor. That they are poor in the sense of worldly possessions is a fact so potent that it ought not to need any proof. It is evident in the mere statement that they are immigrants. If they were not poor we would have very little immigration. The fact that they are poor is the basal reason why they come here. It is this very state or condition just across the border-line of poverty that the immigrants come here to escape. Being so near this border-line the smallest misfortune pushes them across it into pauperism. Thus, it should not be surprising to find—there is no need of proving—the existence of a relatively larger amount of economic dependency among the immigrants than among the natives. To say that the poor are more dependent than those who are not so poor is a self-evident truism.

This is not an excuse or apology for the existence of pauperism among immigrants. There is entirely too much of it for the good of our democratic society. If only five or even one per cent. of the immigrants became public charges, this is one hundred per cent. too much. We cannot be too cautious for our own sake as well as for that of the immigrant in keeping at its lowest possible point social dependency among our foreign born, and among the native population, too, for that matter.

At the same time the charge of pauperism is not a legitimate objection to immigration. Very little, practically no, progress in the solution of the problems of immigration can be made by asserting

that immigrants are more dependent upon public support than other groups of our population. Nor do we get anywhere in meeting intelligently the economic facts presented by immigration when we waste time and energy with comparisons which attempt to prove that the recent immigrant groups, such as the Italians, Hebrews, and Slavs, are subject in greater degree to economic dependency than were the earlier immigrants of the Teutonic and Celtic races. To compare the present condition of immigrants who came here during the last five years with the present condition of those who came here thirty and forty years ago is not scientific. The latter have had a much longer time within which to escape dependency. In other words, those who came during the last five years have not had their chance.

It is just as fallacious, insofar as supplying material evidence is considered, to state that "authoritative opinions based on ascertained facts are favorable to the present immigration." The special report of the Bureau of the Census on "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904, after referring to the Irish, Germans, English, Canadians, and Scandinavians in almshouses, says: "Of the remaining countries, the returns yield distinctly favorable percentages for Italy, Hungary and Bohemia, and Russia and Poland; that is, the proportion which these countries contributed to the foreign-born white pauper population is considerably less than their representation in the foreign-born population. This is not true of Scot-

land and France. The figures for France are perhaps too small to permit generalizations."

Just as the older immigrant groups have been here much longer and have had greater opportunity to escape economic dependency, so it is also true that a much larger number have reached old age, a period of greater dependency, than is the case with the more recent immigrant races who are found more largely in the younger age periods. It is beyond the realm of accurate possibility to measure fairly the present economic status of the immigrants of today in comparison with the present economic status of those who came in the forties, fifties, and sixties, and even later. A more correct comparison would be between the economic status of the immigrants who have come to this country during the last five years and the economic status during the first five years of the earlier immigration. Even then allowance must be made for the much larger number of arrivals in the more recent, compared with the earlier, period and so on.

Closely related to pauperism as a charge against the immigrant is that of criminality. The immigrant of today has not escaped being called a criminal any more than he has that of pauper. And this usually takes the form of statement that among the foreign born there is a greater tendency to commit crime than among the native population. Even should such a fact be indisputably established by statistical evidence, it is essential to the whole truth that certain related but often wholly

ignored facts also be taken into consideration in arriving at a final judgment.

One of these related facts is that crime is much more an urban than a rural phenomenon. This is not saying that the city population is inherently more criminally inclined. Under similar conditions the country or farming population would more than likely manifest the same tendency. In the city certain acts are statutory offenses and thus subject the perpetrator to arrest and imprisonment while the very same acts may be committed in the country districts without any such recorded result. The act of the individual is the same but the social penalty and the statistical classification are different because the conditions are different. This is illustrated in the case of city ordinances for the regulation of sanitation or street traffic. These result in arrest and imprisonment being much more common in the city than in the country districts, and consequently more city people are classified as criminals or at least as offenders against the law when, in reality, there is no such difference in criminal tendency. Expectorating on the sidewalk, playing ball in the public thoroughfare, throwing ashes or other refuse in the street, and the like, are acts forbidden in the city, and if committed there subject the offender to arrest and fine.

In consequence of the existence of a situation which these instances but inadequately reflect, the population living most largely in cities must necessarily show a larger proportion of offenders and

prisoners. And our foreign-born population is most largely in the cities while the native population is most largely in the country districts. Under these conditions we should expect to find relatively a larger number of recorded violations of law among the foreign born, but this does not prove the existence of a greater criminal tendency on the part of the immigrant as compared with the native.

Attempts to prove that the immigrant is more criminally inclined than the native do not carefully distinguish between the kinds of offenses recorded as crimes. Neither do they clearly separate prisoners and criminals, these two distinct groups being constantly confused. Statistics of persons imprisoned for crime may give entirely different results than those of persons arrested and tried for crime. And here is where the greater economic dependency of the immigrants as a class may enter as an explanation in part as to why a larger number of immigrant than native prisoners are recorded as criminals. There are some offenses committed where the payment of a fine will free the violator from being included in criminal statistics. Thus, statistics of prisoners may be merely a reflection of the economic status of those arrested rather than an indication of any criminal tendency.

Still another important fact must be considered. Crime is largely a question of age, the criminal age being between fifteen and thirty. The immigrant is generally over fourteen years of age, the

proportion of children among the immigrants being much smaller than among the native population. Of our total immigration in 1914 as much as eighty-one per cent.—more than four-fifths—were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four and only thirteen per cent.—about one-eighth—under fourteen years of age. It is only natural that those elements of the population which are largely of criminal age, such as the immigrants, should show a relatively higher recorded tendency. The proportion of crime being very much larger among grown-up people than among children, this explains a greater recorded criminality among the immigrant than among the native population, but most assuredly it does not follow that the immigrants or their children are more criminally inclined. If eighty-one per cent. of our immigrants happen to be of an age when the criminal tendency most strongly manifests itself, whereas only twenty-four per cent. of the entire population of the United States are of that age, we should expect the immigrant to suffer by a comparison based on such statistics.

Again, as to crime among children of immigrants compared with children of natives. The progress during the past twenty years in our treatment of juvenile delinquents makes any comparison with previous years practically valueless. Juveniles were arrested for all sorts of things a decade and more ago that are not now considered crimes and, besides, they are now dealt with in an entirely different manner. The whole attitude of

the police and the judiciary toward the juvenile incorrigible and delinquent has undergone a radical change. Here, also, must be considered the fact that the children of immigrants are more largely in cities, where recorded crime is more common, and the children of the native population more largely in the country districts, where there is greater freedom for youthful activities without the greater danger of these becoming offenses against social peace and order. Nor have we any better or more convincing evidence of the assertions that "the children of the foreign born are more criminal than the immigrants themselves" and that "the children of immigrants are more than twice as criminal as the immigrants themselves." Such statements are insufficient and inconclusive and lack a foundation based upon scientific facts.

It is within the probability of the truth to state, in regard to criminal tendency among immigrants, that the conditions in which they find themselves, and not inherent personal characteristics, are more conducive to this tendency than that in which the natives are placed. Change the conditions, and it is more than likely that the tendency will be reversed. Very little progress towards a solution of the situation will be attained merely by blaming the immigrant. Perhaps we natives should justly bear some, if not much, of the responsibility.

These important qualifications make of doubtful value statistics purporting to measure the tend-

ency to commit crime among our foreign-born population. These qualifications are not presented here for the purpose of minimizing the extent of crime among immigrants. As large or as small as this may be in comparison with that of the native population, it is entirely too large, and drastic measures should be taken not only to keep criminals out of the country, but also to prevent an increase in crime among the foreign born already here.

We should not ignore the fact that some immigrants come to us with the criminal instinct already firmly implanted by their European environment. Not to recognize this is to overlook salient facts, such as the notorious Black-Hand outrages, all too commonly committed in this country by Italians. Members of this race in this respect bear a relation to our present immigration somewhat similar to that of the Irish in relation to the older immigration, when the foreign born from Ireland gave to us the "Mollie Maguires" and like secret, unlawful organizations. Southern Italians, in particular, have an unenviable reputation for crime, the existence there of brigandage, the Mafia, and the Camorra supplying evidence of it. In the earlier days of Italian immigration in this country, crimes of the Mafia were almost as conspicuous in the press accounts as are today the depredations of the Black Hand. Individual characteristics and an inborn distrust and hatred of governmental authority seem to have been developed in the southern Italian by centu-

ries of misgovernment with the result that he has a perverted code of honor which requires all private or personal differences to be settled privately as between man and man. This characteristic is quite frequently shown in cases where the victims of Black-Hand outrages have time and again not only declined to enter charges with the authorities, but have also even gone so far as to refuse information to the police which might have led to the capture and punishment of the guilty parties. Usually the depredations of the Black Hand are preceded by warnings in which demands are made for money, and if these demands are not complied with the explosion of a bomb frequently follows. Their absolute disregard of the danger in which they are placing the lives of innocent parties through the perpetration of such outrages would seem to indicate the absence of a social temperament.

These explanations are not intended to justify either present-day conditions or tendencies. Notwithstanding all that has been said in order to be fair and just, it still remains true that because of immigration we have a greater amount of pauperism and crime than would be the case if there were no immigration. It is also an indisputable fact that with a better regulation of immigration the United States would have less of these social horrors.

CHAPTER XI

"THE UNDESIRABLES"

Coupled with paupers and criminals as undesirable immigrants are the mental defectives, such as the insane, feeble-minded, epileptics, and so on. The fact that all these are excluded by law from entering the country does not prevent a greater or less number gaining admittance. In considering this class in comparison with the native population, it is just as important as in the cases of paupers and criminals that regard be had for the difference in age conditions and in geographical distribution.

Of importance in this connection is the fact that insanity bears a close relation to old age. Conversely, there is relatively little insanity among the young. According to census statistics, it is more than six times greater among those between sixty and sixty-four years of age as compared with those between the ages of twenty and twenty-four.[1] This naturally affects the foreign born more seriously than the native because a relatively larger number of the former are in the older age groups, with the result that it tends to show a greater extent of insanity among the foreign born.

[1] Walter F. Willcox, *The American Year Book*, 1913, p. 386.

Somewhat the same tendency is also due to the difference in distribution of the foreign born in cities and of the native population in country districts. While it has not been scientifically proven that insanity is more of an urban than a rural phenomenon, at the same time we do know positively that cases of insanity occurring in the cities are more likely to be recorded than are those in the country districts. The foreign born being largely in the cities where there is a more accurate enumeration of the insane, our statistics of the institutional insane naturally reflect a more complete measurement for them than for the native and, in consequence, show a relatively larger amount of insanity among the foreign born.

Let us take for illustration the statistics of the insane for the State of New York. Of the 31,432 insane patients under treatment in the fourteen State Hospitals in 1911, as many as 13,163 or forty-two per cent. were aliens. Of the 1,230 patients in the two State Hospitals for the criminal insane more than forty-four per cent. were foreign born. The proportion of aliens to the total population in the state in 1910 was less than thirty per cent., with the result that statistically the prevalence of insanity among the foreign born is shown to be much greater than among the native. Of the 5,700 patients admitted to the city hospitals, 2,737 or forty-eight per cent. were aliens and 1,481 or twenty-six per cent. of alien parentage; only 1,224 or less than twenty-six per cent. were of native stock. The situation as to the care

of the insane in New York State has naturally grown worse with the increase in immigration. It has become so portentous to that Commonwealth as to require as much as one-fourth of the entire revenue of the state to care for these insane dependents.

This question is really a serious one. Nearly three-fourths of the insane or mentally defective foreign born now receiving public care in this country are in the institutions of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Maryland. Referring to this situation at the public hearing before President Wilson in the White House on the Burnett Immigration bill on January 22, 1915, Dr. Stewart Paton, representing a delegation of alienists and members of state boards on insanity, said:

> The states named receive their population chiefly through immigration. In New York State the number of immigrants who come to settle permanently there every year is greater than the number of babies born. The application, through eugenics, of the facts learned by the scientific study of heredity will doubtless make it possible in years to come to cut off defective strains, so that fewer babies who have inherited the mental defect of their parents will be born. But how weak our efforts in this direction compared with the enormous need! It is in eliminating the insane and mentally defective from the great tide which flows through Ellis Island that the most practical and humane field for the control of insanity and feeble-mindedness in this country is to be found.
>
> It may be said that the present immigration law excludes the insane and the mentally defective. In reply I have to say that under the present immigration law our public institu-

tions are filled with the alien insane. There are serious defects in the immigration law, and these defects have long been recognized, not only by those who care for the alien insane and mentally defective in the public institutions of this country, but also by the medical authorities actually engaged in the examination of immigrants at our ports of entry.

I take the liberty of reminding you that there are more insane in institutions in this country than there are students in colleges and universities. There are more insane in this country than there are enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; and in addition to these, each year there is being added to this great army, an army practically equal to the army of the United States, approximately sixty thousand new cases every year. The cost of conducting these institutions in which this vast number of persons is cared for is so great that in several states it is exceeded only by the amount expended for education. In New York the expenditures for the insane are one-fourth of the total appropriation of the state. And if proper provision were made in this country for the care of the insane, the amount so expended would exceed that expended for education.

So I think that we are justified in saying that in dealing with this problem we are dealing with one of the great biological problems which fundamentally affect not only the future of this country but the future of our race: and certainly the permanency of democratic institutions must depend upon the intelligent interest that we take in the conservation of the brain power of this nation.[1]

As serious as is the phase of immigration that is represented by the influx of so many "undesirables," it is not approaching the immigration problem in the direction of its correct solution by applying these characteristics indiscriminately to all immigrants, as is frequently done by some

[1] From stenographic report of the hearing.

of the restrictionists. For illustration, in a circular issued to members of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, the immigration problem is put this way: "A large per cent. of immigration is made up of outcasts, criminals, anarchists, thieves, and offscourings of the earth, who are forced to leave their own lands and still are allowed to land upon American soil. Isn't it time we began to take measures to stop this inflow of foreign scum? Every true American, naturalized or native born, regardless of nationality, partisan or sectarian affiliation, will answer, Yes!"

By far the greater volume of the immigration tide washing upon our shores annually is not made up of paupers, criminals, and the insane.

It is in equal degree contrary to the facts when the restrictionist characterizes in these particulars the present immigrating races in contrast with the earlier immigration from the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Nowadays we are told that the Italian, the Hebrew, and the Slav are unlike the German, the Irish, and the English immigrant of the earlier period, and the comparison made between the two groups is usually in favor of the older immigrant races. This point is of sufficient importance to require examination in some detail.

The same charges now being made against our present immigration were also hurled at the heads of the immigrants of earlier days. This is likely to be forgotten by many of the present generation

and is not known at all by many others. The researches of the historian show that the very same aliens who are now regarded so favorably in comparison with the present immigrant races were looked upon by some as "a worthless and depraved class"; as "the dregs of all nations"; as "the very canaille of the city"; as "bands of homeless, houseless mendicants." Immigration was an "indiscriminate influx of foreigners" and the immigrants were "hordes of foreigners."[1] Complaint was long current among our people that paupers, criminals, the insane, the crippled, the lame, and the diseased were "being dumped on our shores." We read of this earlier immigration as "a deluge of paupers," "an influx of ragged paupers," the "dumping on our shores of the paupers of Europe," "the sweepings of English poorhouses," "swarms of foreign beggars of both sexes," and are told that "the jails and workhouses of Europe (were) pouring their felons and paupers" into the United States.

"Most of the German immigrants were persons who, when they paid their passage, had little or no money left, and might, therefore, become paupers on landing. It was the custom of the (home) government to require of such persons before embarking to renounce allegiance, lest they should return and become a burden."[1] "Many of the British (immigrants) had been assisted by their parishes, and not a few were the lame, the halt, the blind,

[1] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 6, pp. 422 and 424.

and paupers." Others could not make a living in their parish and were often a burden on their neighbors. An English newspaper [1] declared that of seventeen thousand passengers recently sailing for Canada one-half were paupers destined to the United States. The captain of a British ship on one occasion was applied to by five parishes to take paupers to America.[2] A royal commission appointed in 1833 to collect evidence as to pauperism in Great Britain, reported to Parliament that some parishes had adopted the plan of getting rid of their paupers by persuading them to emigrate to America, and the commission was so strongly impressed with the practicability of the scheme that it recommended to Parliament its adoption generally. "Worse than all," says Professor McMaster, "is the stream of foreign paupers that has already begun its gloomy procession to our shores. The poorhouses and parishes of England, unable longer to bear the burden of a pauper population, are unloading a part on the United States." [3]

Numbers of persons coming to Baltimore from foreign ports were absolutely destitute, said the health officer of that city in his annual report in 1828, and two years later he declared the increase every year to be remarkable, the condition of many deplorable, and that paupers were still be-

[1] *The Kentish Chronicle; National Intelligencer*, August 14, 1830.

[2] *The New York Daily Advertiser*, August 18, 1830.

[3] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 6, pp. 422 and 424.

ing brought in in great numbers. Out of eleven hundred admitted to the almshouses of Baltimore during 1831 nearly five hundred were foreigners, and of these more than one hundred had not been in the city a week. Of twenty-two hundred paupers in the almshouses of New York, one thousand and fifty were recently from the Old World.[1] In Louisiana a joint committee to examine a charity hospital reported that out of 6,062 persons admitted in 1834 as many as 4,287 were foreigners. In 1838 a committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate immigration reported that "it is estimated that more than one-half the pauper population, and that the most helpless and dependent, are foreign."

There were fifty-three hundred foreigners and forty-seven hundred natives in the almshouses of New York,[2] Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.[3] It needed no extensive examination of the returns of public hospitals, poorhouses, and like charitable institutions to show that the immigrants furnished a large part of their material. "In all the seaports to which came fugitives from the distress in Europe in 1845," says Professor McMaster, "the almshouses, hospitals, and places of refuge for the destitute were packed full."[4]

---

[1] *Niles Register*, January 14, 1832.

[2] Three-fourths of the inmates of the almshouses of New York City in 1836 were aliens.—McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 7, p. 226.

[3] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 6, p. 422.

[4] In the three years from 1837 to 1840, of 8,671 paupers in

The charge that he was a criminal was also made against the immigrant of the earlier period, the words criminal and convict often being coupled with pauper as descriptive of the character of the earlier immigrant. Parson Brownlow, in his speech before Congress, described the immigration prior to 1850 as "paupers and convicts that pour in upon us from European prisons." Diffused over the country were "aliens of various characters, and among them the most abandoned villains, convicted of the blackest crimes" who had escaped from chains and prisons. The suggestion was seriously advanced that to extirpate these people "would be a wise policy." It was quite generally believed that criminals sentenced in Germany for life or for a long term in prison were given the option of emigrating from that country, and if they went their passage was paid.

It is only natural to expect that among the large population washed upon our shores by the immigration tide, whether in the earlier or later pe-

---

Massachusetts only 2,567 were American born. In New York the number admitted to Blackwell's Island (Almshouse) during the last six months of 1849 totaled 1,672, of whom 411 were natives and 1,006 Irish. Of the 134,972 recorded paupers in the United States within the year ending June 1, 1850, as many as 66,538 were foreign born. In New York State in 1850, of the 59,855 paupers 40,580 were foreign born; in Massachusetts, of the 15,777 paupers 9,247 were foreign born. In New York City, of the 12,833 paupers on June 1, 1850, 7,077 were foreign born. In 1852 the whole number of paupers supported or relieved in the state of Massachusetts was 27,737, of whom 11,321 were foreign born. In Boston alone there were 9,464 paupers, of whom 5,913 were foreign born.—*Compendium of the 1850 Census*, p. 161.

riods, there should be dependents, defectives, and delinquents who are not only a burden but also a danger to our society. A feature of this phase of immigration which deserves attention is pointed out by Henry J. Dannanbaum, a district president of the B'nai B'rith, a Jewish organization in New York. He says:

Perhaps the most brilliant jewel in the crown of Jewish character has been the purity of its womanhood. For ages we have boasted of it and it was the one quality for which for ages even our enemies praised us. Suddenly we find appearing in the life of the large cities the scarlet woman of Jewish birth. The number multiplies until it becomes a problem that causes us to fear and to tremble. Then comes the knowledge that this sudden break in Jewish morality was not natural, that it was the product of cold, calculating, mercenary methods, devised and handled by men of Jewish birth. Let me hasten to add that there are others besides Jews among the traffickers and their victims. But the very congestion in the large cities, to which I have already referred, makes the immigrant Jewish population a fertile breeding ground for both.

James Bronson Reynolds, of New York City, is perhaps the oldest student and greatest authority on the subject of the white slave traffic. Twenty-five years ago he was a settlement worker on the East Side. From his lips I have the statement that at that time the Jewish women of that section were equal in purity to any womanhood on earth. Then came the trafficker and began his work of ruin. His easy success tempted many more of the evil-minded to follow in his path, the business has spread like a prairie fire until this night when, in the Woman's Night Court of New York City and on gilded Broadway, a majority of street-walkers bear Jewish names. And I may add the information acquired during my service with the Federal Government, that in practically every part of the United States Jewish traffickers and Jewish victims

are far in excess of our proportionate relation to the general population.[1]

As long as there is any considerable immigration, aliens will continue to supply additions to all these undesirable classes. The only way to escape this is to prevent immigration almost entirely. But this inflow of alien peoples makes contributions to our social wealth fund through those other immigrants who become valuable members of our communal life.

[1] Report of Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-Second Congress, Second Session.

CHAPTER XII

IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The foreign-born dependents, defectives, and delinquents, these derelicts of the immigration tide, this flotsam and jetsam, represent only one phase of the contribution immigration makes to our population. That it has brought and continues to bring the idle and the worthless; the vagrant and the criminal; the devil-loving; "the weak, who is alone responsible for his own misfortune," and "the failure, the unstable man, who, having tried everything, has made a success of nothing because he has neither industry nor application, and who turns to emigration as he has played with everything else" [1]—that immigration brings to us these elements of human frailty there can be no denying.

But to secure consolation from, or to see a social advantage in, their coming takes one far afield in search of an argument in justification of unregulated immigration. We are told in an editorial in the *New York Evening Post,* for instance, that the immigrants have supplied "the great opportunity of the social workers" and have been "the touchstone of the awakening social conscience."

[1] A. Maurice Low: *The American People.*

Thus the evils of immigration are made to serve as a buffer for the virtues of the social worker.

This argument would seem to lead logically to the conclusion that the greater the evils the greater the opportunity; therefore, let immigration be unrestricted. It assumes that without immigration there would not have arisen in this country somewhat the same conditions which brought this opportunity and this awakening. Such an assumption cannot be admitted. Inherent in our own economic conditions were abundant opportunities for the exercise of social virtues, such as the political, economic, religious, educational, and general social status of the negro, or of the "poor white," or of the Indian in many of our states. These opportunities immigration caused us to ignore or neglect in large part. Into these channels of activity might have been directed the forces of social regeneration. But immigration bulked so large as to overshadow these opportunities. In consequence, this aspect of immigration has been magnified through the activities of such institutions as the social settlement.

Factory laws, women and children in industry, workingmen's insurance, widow's pensions—"the entire complex of social legislation"—would in all probability have been established among our native population several decades earlier if there had been no European immigration of the magnitude of the past three decades. If the powerful economic forces at work building up our industrial state had not attracted the immigrant they would

have drawn with equal force into our industrial centers elements of the native population, and these would likely have been surrounded at first by somewhat the same environment as that into which the immigrant was plunged. This is illustrated conspicuously by present-day conditions in the southern states where there has been practically no recent European immigration, but where economic forces have drawn the "poor whites" from the mountain recesses into the mill villages. Factory laws are just as necessary in North and South Carolina and Georgia as they are in New York and Pennsylvania. Women and children in industry is just as serious a problem in these southern states as it is in the New England states. Workingmen's insurance and widow's pensions have become as necessary in southern industries without European immigration as they are in the eastern industrial centers which have been flooded with immigrants.

To overlook the blighting conditions among the native working population in the southern states and at the same time magnify similar conditions among the immigrant population in the eastern states, permits the conclusion that immigration is the cause of the disgraceful situation that has been the opportunity of the social worker. The fact is, that intolerable industrial conditions prevail alike in the southern cotton mill towns without immigration as they do in the cotton mill towns of New England with their large immigration, so that these conditions cannot entirely be

laid at the door of immigration. They would have presented the opportunity, and this opportunity would have been taken advantage of, if there had been no immigration.

If the density of population and the newspapers and magazines and like instruments of news dissemination were centered in the southern states, where there has been no recent immigration, instead of in the eastern and middle western states into which the flood of immigration has poured, it is more than probable that all these evils with which immigration is so closely associated in the public mind would have been pointed out as affecting the native worker instead of primarily the immigrant. In other words, many intelligent people have been prevented from seeing the real cause of our industrial evils because of the overshadowing part immigration has been made to play in them through its continual but accidental association with problems of which it is only incidental. At the same time that all this is true there is no denying that the settlement or social worker has worked with the material which immigration supplied ready-made to his or her hands.

But immigration has also supplied material of an entirely different character. Professor Mayo-Smith says in his *Emigration and Immigration*: "When emigration is brought about by the free action of a man's own mind, without extraneous aids or influences, it is naturally the men who have intelligence, some financial resources, energy and ambition that emigrate. It requires all these to

break loose from the ties of kindred, of neighborhood and of country, and to start out on a long and difficult journey."

Immigration has brought to us the industrious and worthy; the home builder; the justice lover; the liberty seeker; the God-fearing; "the resolute, courageous man, practical but imaginative, who sees the future and has the pluck to grapple with it," and "the strong, who, having succeeded, is self-reliant enough to know that with larger opportunity there will come to him a greater measure of success." As A. Maurice Low in *The American People* further says: "The opportunity the United States has offered mankind has always attracted and is today attracting two distinct elements in European society from whatever country they come, with different and one might say with opposite traits or characteristics. . . . The immigrant has always been drawn from the two extremes of the moral and temperamental scale."

One would be brave indeed to attempt to sum up in brief space the contribution the immigrant has made to American progress. This is merely one way of saying that it is not possible to indicate in a sufficiently comprehensive manner the important part the immigrant has played and the important place he now occupies in the social, political, religious, educational, and economic progress of the United States. An attempt to do so could only be successful by contrasting his contribution alongside that of the native. And when one endeavors to do this he is confronted with

the insurmountable fact that there is no rule of measurement of value applicable to the one that does not measure in almost equal degree the contribution of the other. That the immigrant's contribution to American life has been of a positive character and not merely indirect and passive is proven by his activities in all the channels of American communal life. In art, in science, in literature, in industry, in law, in medicine, in politics, in education, and so on, he has been and is conspicuous. He has sweetened and ennobled life wherever he has touched it. Equally with the native, the immigrant has labored unselfishly for the attainment of those ideals which lie at the foundation of American society and of American institutions.

Andrew Carnegie, world-renowned for his benefactions and before his retirement to private life one of our largest employers of labor as well as a pioneer manufacturer in the iron and steel industry, was an immigrant from Scotland. Samuel Gompers, an English Jew, one of the founders and for thirty-three years President of the American Federation of Labor and the recognized national leader of organized labor in the United States, immigrated here as a cigar-maker. Frank Morrison, the Secretary of the Federation, came as an immigrant printer from Canada. From the Dominion also came James J. Hill, one of the promoters and for many years President of the Great Northern Railway, who has also been prominent in establishing a direct steamship line between this

country and China and Japan. S. S. McClure, founder and editor of one of the best known popular-priced magazines, who established the first newspaper syndicate in this country, was an immigrant from Ireland. Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal,* came as an immigrant from the Netherlands. One of the best mayors the city of Philadelphia has ever been fortunate enough to elect is Rudolph Blankenburg, born in Germany, who first served as a clerk and traveling salesman upon his arrival here. Nikola Tesla, one of our most famous inventors, was born in Austria. So also was Anthony Lucas, the mining engineer and oil producer. From Denmark came the late Jacob A. Riis, social worker and friend of former President Roosevelt, who was designated by the latter as "America's most useful citizen." Carl J. Mellin, the mechanical engineer in charge of the designing and construction of the machinery for the battleship *Texas* and who designed and patented the compound locomotive of the Mallet articulated principle, now in extended use on American railroads, came from Sweden. So also did Ernst F. W. Alexanderson, the electrical engineer and inventor identified with the General Electric Company, who has to his credit more than seventy United States patents.

These are only a few selections from the many striking illustrations that could be given. They are presented merely as indicative and not at all as comprehensive. So also is the following reference to the contribution of the German element

in particular. As much could be said of other immigrant races in the United States.

The German element has been prominent in all those industries requiring technical skill and special training, Mr. Faust tells us in his chapter on "German Influences on the Material Development of the United States."[1] As bridge-builders and as electrical, civil, and mining engineers, he says, the Germans have not only done a very large part of the work demanded by modern transportation and manufactures, but their inventive genius has also made lasting contributions to the sum of human achievement. They have also predominated in the manufacture of scientific apparatus and of musical instruments. They established the art of lithography and have been well represented as printers. Prominent is their share in the chemical industries and in the manufacture of glass, iron, and steel. In navigation and shipping they have directed attention to foreign ports, and their names are numerous and distinguished on the rolls of the captains of industry in varied fields of activity. In scientific farming, such as fruit growing, gardening, nurseries, forestry; as stock raisers, brewers, bakers, pharmacists, physicians; in naval architecture, railway engineering, Government scientific work, medicine and chemistry, and, in fact, in all lines of communal activity the Germans have been and are conspicuous in American life. Nor has the least of their contributions

[1] Faust: *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 120.

been along the line of teaching the native American, in gymnastics and cooking, how to take better care of himself.

From the German element came the Conestoga wagon, the Wagner palace car, the Buckeye mower, the Mergenthaler linotype, the Blickensderfer typewriter, the Steinway piano, the Faber lead pencil, the Leffel turbine wheel, the modern mowing machine and reaper, rolled oats, Royal Baking Powder, the "57 varieties" of food products, and the like. Steinmetz, the inventor, and Prang, the lithographer, were Germans. A German was the inventor of the modern suspension bridge, and a German, so it is claimed, was the designer of the *Monitor*.[1]

The originator of the Republican "Elephant" and the Tammany "Tiger," the man whom President Lincoln styled in the dark days of the Civil War as the country's "best recruiting sergeant," he who gave powerful aid in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring, the cartoonist, Nast, was a German. The founder of *Puck* and Zimmerman, the caricaturist of *Judge,* were Germans.

German architecture gave to us the Library of Congress, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine of New York, and the St. Louis Union Station. Biernstady, the landscape artist; Weimer, the painter of the North American Indian; Ulrich,

[1] The distinction of having invented the *Monitor* is also claimed for the Swedes by Mr. Pennock Pusey of the Historical Society of Delaware. Ericson, he says, was the son of a Swedish miner, born and reared in a miner's hut in the backwoods of Sweden.

whose "Promised Land" represents European immigrants landing at Castle Garden; Lautze, the painter of "Columbus in Chains," "Columbus before the High Council of Salamanca," "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "Emancipation of the Slaves," and other famous artists came from the German element in America.

Conried in opera, Sousa in military music, Damrosch, Anton Seidl, and Theodore Thomas in orchestral music; the Philharmonic Society, Germania Orchestra, Boston Symphony Society, Mendelssohn Quintet Club, Kneisel Quartet, the Handel and Haydn Society, the Harmonic Society, the Oratorio Society, the Mannerchore, and the German Singing Societies—these merely have to be mentioned to indicate the contribution the German element has made to music. The music festivities of the United German Singing Societies both in the East and in the West are important events in the musical history of the country, an audience of from fifteen to twenty thousand being a common spectacle at these song fests. In music schools and universities, as teachers of singing in our public schools, and as musical critics the German element is prominent. And in closing, it is only necessary to inquire, "Who can number that vast throng of German immigrants whose members have become the music teachers of the humbler class of America?" Mr. Faust summarizes the German influence in music in this striking statement: "From 'Yankee Doodle' to 'Parsifal' in less than seventy years is the record of German

influence on the development of musical taste in America."[1]

In the rough, unskilled work of opening up the great interior West to human habitation, in felling the forests, in the building of our great cities, in constructing our railroads and digging our canals and making our public highways, in mining and manufacture, in agriculture—in all these and more ways essential to the making out of America a place for human habitation, the immigrants' toil-worn hands and brawny muscles have left enduring monuments to his industrious characteristics. Even the ostracized and persecuted Chinese can rightfully lay claim to having contributed material assistance, particularly in California, in the construction of railroads, the reclamation of swamp lands, in mining, in farming and fruit culture, in domestic service, and in manufactures.

This brief and inadequate reference is by no means exhaustive of all that the immigrant can claim as his contribution to our social advancement. These facts are seldom mentioned by those who call attention to the paupers and insane and criminals and the like, which the immigration tide is washing upon our shores. Not only have there been these and other contributions by the immigrant but an even wider field is included when that part played in American life by the entire foreign-born population is considered.

Thus, there have come to us through immigra-

[1] Faust: *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 293.

tion, just as there have come to us through the springs of rejuvenation of our own native population, much of good that has been effective in the direction of economic, religious, educational, political, and social progress. To deny this would be to deny a conspicuous fact. In innumerable directions the immigrant has been a positive force in the quickening of many influences that have tended to make the United States a better place in which to live. Nor have these influences come from the immigrant of any single country; these contributions have been made alike by the Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh, the English, the Scandinavian, the French, the Italian, the German, the Austrian, the Jew, and so on. To attempt to measure or estimate the extent or value of the contribution to American civilization that has been made by each of the racial groups which have been important elements in our population is to attempt, if not the impossible, at least the unsatisfactory. That each of these groups has made such contribution is beyond question.

One fact should not be forgotten, and this is that at all times in the history of the American people, from the very earliest colonial period down to the decade when the frontier line of the United States may be said to have disappeared from the map, even down to the present day, during all these years millions of immigrants have given to the land of their adoption the very best that was in them. And this best is not to be minimized.

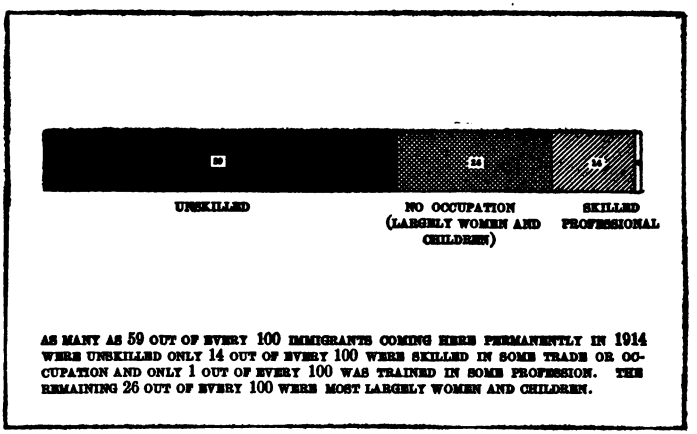
CHAPTER XIII

IMMIGRATION'S TIDE-RIP

ALL alien arrivals at the ports of entry are grouped by the Federal immigration authorities according to occupation. By far the larger number come from agricultural districts, and naturally they report themselves and are recorded as farm laborers. These and others recorded as "laborers" contribute as many as forty-two out of every one hundred immigrants—a total of five hundred and fourteen thousand in 1914. If those reported as "servants" are included, we have accounted for as many as fifty-four out of every one hundred. Another one-fourth of the arrivals (twenty-six per cent.) reported no occupation; these are principally women and children. About fourteen per cent. are skilled workers, including tailors, seamstresses, dressmakers, milliners, clerks and accountants, carpenters and joiners, shoemakers, miners, masons, mariners, blacksmiths, bakers, and painters and glaziers. An insignificant proportion of our immigrants—less than two out of every one hundred—are of the professional class, and these are principally teachers, engineers, musicians, clergymen, electricians, and actors. This occupational grouping of our 1914 immigration

according to the four general classes is illustrated in the diagram below.

Comparatively few of the professional class are found among the newer immigrant peoples, as many as fifty-six out of every one hundred immigrants of this class being English, German, Scotch, Irish, and French in this order of relative importance. With the skilled class the distribution by



PERMANENT IMMIGRATION IN 1914 BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

peoples is somewhat different, the Hebrews alone contributing thirty-five and the Italians seventeen out of every one hundred; the German, English, Scandinavian, and Scotch combined give only twenty-three out of every one hundred.

Of the one hundred and forty-four thousand representatives of the servant class arriving in 1914 more than fifty-eight out of every one hundred—as many as eighty-four thousand—were Poles,

Italians, Hebrews, Ruthenians, Magyars, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and Croatians and Slovenians. The Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, and English combined contributed only one-fourth—a total of thirty-six thousand—of this class.

An analysis of those in the unskilled groups shows that virtually all are of the newer immigrant races, nearly four-fifths of the farm laborers being south Italians, Poles, Russians, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Magyars, Slovaks, and Croatians and Slovenians. A somewhat similar statement is true of the distribution of laborers—more than two-thirds are Italians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Croatians and Slovenians, and Magyars. The Greeks and north Italians come most largely from the cities. The Croatians and Slovenians are fairly equally divided between city and farm laborers.

This classification of "farm laborers" by the Federal immigration officials is likely to convey an altogether erroneous impression if we interpret it as having the same meaning economically as it has when applied to similar workers of the Teutonic races. We must go back of the mere words and understand their real significance. These "farm laborers" in Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, for instance, are as closely identified with industrial production as with agricultural pursuits. In the winter months these peasants become artisans in industries of various kinds, such as textile, tanning, cutlery, metal work, cabinet making, pottery, glass making, and so on.

As employees of large country estates they are also blacksmiths, barbers, carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, watch and clock repairers, and the like. Although given largely to agricultural work, they are at the same time capable of adapting themselves readily to any labor not calling for higher qualities than muscular force, quick apprehension, and willingness to work. This is evident in the fact that they quickly adjust themselves in the United States to other than agricultural labor. Thus, there is not that clear distinction between the farm laborer and the workingman which exists in the United States.

This is the explanation, in part, as to why the more recent immigrant races enter into the manufacture of iron, agricultural implements, electrical machinery and supplies, railway cars and supplies, pottery, paper, wood products, silk goods, clothing, shoes, collars, cuffs and shirts, carpets, linoleum, leather goods, cigars, and scores of other products. They have overrun the cotton textile industry of New England. They dominate the clothing industry of New York and other cities. They have flooded the unskilled occupations in the steel industry. They fill similar places in ore and coal mines and collieries. They have also become conspicuous in most of the trades and occupations, such as brick-laying and masonry, plumbing, sheet metal working, carpentering and woodworking, painting, decorating and paper hanging, and stone and marble cutting; they are barbers and waiters and the like.

Into our mines and mills and factories and workshops, generally, and not onto our farms, flows this stream of foreign labor. It meets with the stream of native and Americanized workers which is engaged in the operation of our industries, of our tide-mills. The result is somewhat similar, figuratively, to the tide-rip—a body of water made rough by the conflict of opposing tides or currents. These two streams of labor, being composed of elements that have been affected differently in the formation of their economic, industrial, and social characteristics by widely different environmental and hereditary influences, meet at the entrances to the industrial plants in competition for jobs and wages. This compact of these conflicting currents of labor sets in motion economic forces which vitally affect the native and earlier immigrant wage earners, their families, their industrial and social conditions, and our democratic institutions. For this reason, some insight into these economic characteristics is of importance. This insight can be secured from a brief description of the effects upon these alien laborers of their economic and social environment before they arrive in the United States.

In the first place, as has already been said, the immigrant is poor, very poor as to the possession of this world's material goods. He has barely enough with which to pay his transportation to this country, and many thousands do not possess even this small sum. In 1914 the 1,218,480 permanent arrivals brought with them cash to the

amount of $42,553,266. This is an average for each immigrant of $34.92. But in this, as in most cases, the average is meaningless. This average gives this amount to every child under fourteen years of age; excluding the one hundred and fifty-nine thousand children the average for all other immigrants is $40.15.

But even this average is of importance only to the extent that it furnishes something definite and tangible by which to measure the relative economic status of the different immigrant groups at the time of arrival. For illustration, the Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Pole, Hebrew, Roumanian, Slovak, and Turk each had in his or her possession an amount averaging less than the average for all adult immigrants. So did the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin; the Croatian and Slovenian; the Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian; the Finnish, Greek, Italian, Magyar, and Russian. All these are of the newer immigrant races.

The largest average sum, according to race, for each adult alien, amounting to $99.18, was in the possession of the English immigrant; the Scotch and Welsh each possessed more than ninety dollars; the French $84.39; the German $69.65, while the Scandinavian, the Bohemian and Moravian, and the Irish each had an amount larger than the average for all adult immigrants. All the groups possessing more than the average are of the older immigrant races.

The possession of these amounts, however, does not mean in all cases that the money belongs to

the immigrant. It is important that he should be in possession of a certain sum upon his arrival in order to avoid the risk of being sent back to Europe by the United States immigration authorities, as its absence would subject him to the possibility of his being debarred from entrance and deported on the ground that he might become a public charge. It is a matter of official record that many deposits of money are made at Ellis Island by interested parties for immigrants after arrival for the mere purpose of securing their admission in evasion of the law, and are taken away as soon as the immigrants for whom the deposits are intended have left the Island.

There is no statutory provision as to the amount of money an alien should have on deposit to his credit or actually in his possession upon arrival, and in consequence the immigration officials have made no hard and fast rule. Generally, however, it is required that the immigrant should have enough money with which to provide for the reasonable wants of himself and those accompanying him who are dependent upon him until such time as he is likely to find employment. When bound for an interior destination he must have sufficient funds, in addition, with which to meet transportation charges if not already in possession of the railroad ticket, as is true in many cases.

It should be expected in consequence of this indication of the immigrant's worldly possessions, that any word picture of the economic conditions surrounding him in his European home that is at

all true to the facts must necessarily be a gloomy one. Of course, it must be recognized at the outset that among the aliens coming to the United States there are wide differences of life, of habits, and of industrial characteristics. Some there are who have a training in a skilled occupation and an education much beyond the mere ability to read and write. But by far the larger number have not these advantages. For the greater part, being principally from the backward agricultural districts, they are densely ignorant and very superstitious. In many cases they are intensely devoted to the Roman Catholic faith. In scarcely none of the countries from which these peasants come have they shown sufficient ability to develop a middle class strong enough to bridge the age-long chasm between them and the upper class.

Professor Edward A. Steiner, in *The Immigrant Tide,* says of the Slavic peasant that "to be a peasant means to be addressed by a personal pronoun which is a mark of inferiority; it means to be bound by customs which are irksome as an 'iron shirt'; it means to be the butt of the ridicule of stage fools, who, after all, only mimic the fools in real life. Poverty and contempt have been accepted as the reward for hard labor and as the divinely appointed lot of the peasant, who in but few Slavic countries has escaped serfdom, a condition of semi-slavery from which he emerged with insufficient land, or none, with many limitations as to individual ownership and with practically no

limitations as to his share of the burden of government support.

The masses of the peoples of the Slavic countries have never been above economic want, says Professor Steiner. To the peasant, bread and cabbage to eat, a straw-thatched izba to shelter his family, and an occasional pull at the vodka bottle, means comfort, while to have feather beds, a crowing cock in the barn-yard and a pig-killing once a year, is the realization of his wildest dreams. Fully two-thirds of these more than one hundred million people do not know what it means to have enough bread to eat and, with the exception of Hungary, many of the countries in which they live do not produce enough foodstuffs to allow every man the ordinary military rations. Economically, the Slavic peasant is always at the edge of want and in the shadow of starvation, and, socially, always at a disadvantage. To people living under such economic conditions, emigrating to America will, for some years at least, be going from Egypt to the Promised Land.

A description of the economic environment in Europe of the other races that are coming to us in such large numbers is not any more prepossessing. Only a very small percentage, as we have seen, are skilled workers, and the extremely low wages paid in Europe to unskilled labor permits of a standard of living barely removed from that of physical want for the very necessaries of life. These immigrants know virtually nothing of the comforts and beauties of home; they crowd

together in small, ill-ventilated rooms where squalor and filth usually prevail.

"The emigrants from this district," reports Consul Carroll to the State Department of the United States Government, referring to Palermo, Italy, "few of whom, if any, are able to read or write, as a rule, previous to their emigrating, live in poverty bordering on the extreme and in a manner not easily conceived by an American or other person not conversant with the poverty-stricken localities of Europe. The huts or hovels in which they live and sleep, together with their pigs, goats, and donkeys, and possibly any number of other living things, are not pleasant to look upon, nor is there any desire for a second inhalation of the odor which emanates from them. In the city ten to fifteen often live on the ground or street floor, occupying the same room, with or without curtain partitions, depending upon the degree of taste or refinement of the occupants. In such places there is usually one large bed, which is plainly seen day or night from the street. In passing up or down a street in Palermo during pleasant weather, one of the most common sights is that of seeing people sleeping on steps and sidewalks, and those who are obliged to be on foot and abroad must pick their steps in order not to trample upon them."

"The poorer classes live in wretched habitations, mostly in the lower story of houses from five to nine stories high, erected of tufa stone. Entire families of many persons live in one apart-

ment, receiving light and ventilation by means of a large front door, open during the day and closed at night, shutting out air and circulation." This summary of a report from United States Consul Camphausen at Naples also indicates the manner of living at home of our Italian immigrants and perhaps throws some light upon the cause of congested districts in the Italian quarters in the United States.

As to the food of the Italian immigrants in their native homes, this consists of bread of inferior quality, polenta (boiled Indian meal), rice soup, native wine, fish, and vegetables, with occasionally meat of the poorest grade. Among the better class of workers macaroni with greens cooked with butter, cheese, lard, or milk is not uncommon. A dish often described in consular reports as almost the exclusive food of the poorer class is called "minestra"—a mixture of vegetables, bread or macaroni, grated cheese, and olive oil. Among the poorer agricultural classes, especially in years of bad harvest, the food is almost exclusively polenta, frequently made of diseased and inferior Indian corn.

Consul Camphausen reporting to the State Department from Naples says that in the provinces of Basilicata, as in some of the other provinces, "the people subsist on raw provisions during six days of the week, cooking warm meals twice a day on Sunday only." In some of the provinces "they eat meat about three times a year."

Villari tells us that the general standard of

comfort in south Italy is decidedly low even in the more prosperous parts of the country. "In many places," he says, "several families occupy a single room, and the clothes of the lower classes are often in a wretched state; it is a common sight to see men and women, and especially children, absolutely in rags."[1]

It is from south Italy that we receive by far our largest number of Italian immigrants. In 1914, while the total immigration from Italy reached nearly three hundred and twenty-five thousand, as many as two hundred and seventy-one thousand—eighty-four out of every one hundred—were south Italians and only fifty-two thousand north Italians.

There is a striking difference between the immigrants coming to us from north and from south Italy. According to Villari, north Italy is industrial, prosperous, active, and progressive. The south is almost exclusively agricultural, and miserably poor. The north has made a great advance in wealth, trade, and education, while the south is almost stationary. The ignorance of the south is proverbial. Thus it should be expected that from northern Italy come immigrants of a different kind than from southern Italy. From north Italy come largely masons, stonecutters, railway laborers, and so on. They are, on the whole, physically and otherwise better than those coming from the southern provinces.

[1] Villari: *Italian Life in Town and Country.*

The Poles, Ruthenians, Roumanians, and others of our immigrant races also live poorly in their European homes. Very few of the Ruthenians from Austria-Hungary rise above the rank of the peasantry, the vast majority of the land owners, as well as of the middle and upper classes generally in Galicia, being Poles, but not the Poles that immigrate to America. The Ruthenians are among the poorest and most backward of the Austro-Hungarians. The southern Slavs of Austria-Hungary, including the Slovenes or Slovenians, the Croatians, and the Serbians, are also among the most ignorant and superstitious races in that country.

Our Hebrew immigration from Russia comes almost entirely from the western part of that country, from what is known as the "Jewish Pale of Settlement." Unlike our Russian immigrants proper, most of these Hebrews come from the towns. The trades they represent call for little physical strength, they being tailors, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, glaziers, painters, and so on. The Jewish artisan usually knows fairly well at least two trades more or less closely related, which is an advantage to him in competition with other workers. The Jew, too, is poor, with a low standard of living forced upon him by adverse economic conditions.

Here, then, is a picture of the standard of living of the immigrant at home who is suddenly thrown into the American labor market in competition with the earlier arrival and in particular with

the native worker. Being farm laborers, these immigrants are accustomed among other things to long hours of work each day, quite in contrast with the native industrial worker who is demanding that the work-day be limited to eight hours.

CHAPTER XIV

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE NATIVE WORKER

By far the larger number of aliens coming here are seeking the benefits of the better economic opportunities for employment and wages that are offered by our industries in contrast with those in their home country. If these opportunities here gave no better economic rewards than those the immigrant is able to secure in his European home, it is a certainty that there would be comparatively little immigration to the United States. These rewards for his toil not only enable him to better his living condition, but also to improve the economic status of his family and of others dependent upon him.

This resultant fact is conspicuous in the history of every race migrating to our shores the past one hundred years. Take for illustration those coming here from Ireland. At home, prior to the fifties, the Irish peasant was not only depreciated but also stigmatized as an idle good-for-nothing. In Ireland he had "nothing to hope for; nothing beneficial in prospect to rouse his dormant energies and to urge him on to exertion; the cabin was his birthplace, potatoes his chief food, servility his position, ignorance and prejudice his legacy, and

proscription his lot. The occurrences of every year vouch for the truth of the assertion that the landlords of Ireland cared little or nothing for the peasantry; they neither permitted nor helped them to live like rational beings at home, nor did they use any great efforts to enable them to emigrate."[1]

But in America these very same Irish peasants turned out to be industrious and thrifty citizens. "They appear to me to adapt themselves to the country and its institutions with more ease than emigrants from almost any other nation. They rapidly improve in intelligence, not a few get money and establish themselves in a large way of business, and nearly all of them in a few years or months have improved their condition and appearance in a most wonderful manner. We find them now in every position from hodmen and excavators to common councilmen, mayors, members of Congress and the various legislatures; as farmers with farms of their own; as wholesale and retail grocers; as large and small drapers and merchants; and as lawyers, doctors, editors, and office-holders. Here they have the prospect by industry, frugality, and perseverance, of bettering their condition, and raising themselves in society; and so here they prosper and progress."[1]

The same is true of the more recent immigrant races if allowance is made for the difference in time of arrival in this country. The first indica-

[1] *Emigration, Emigrants and Know-Nothings*, by a Foreigner, 1854.

tion of an improved economic status is the accumulation of savings which represent the difference between their standard of living and the wages they receive here. Formerly accustomed to a wage of from twenty to fifty cents a day and with a correspondingly low standard of living, the one dollar and more a day they are paid in this country represents a large sum for the expenditure of which their low standard makes no provision. This explains why the foreign element in the United States succeeds in saving money.

"An alien in the United States," reported the United States Consul at Fiume, Hungary, in 1904, even "allowing what to him are luxuries, such as daily meat, shoes, and tobacco, is still able to save over half his earnings. In two or three years he either starts a business of his own or returns home. Many times he again emigrates, often having married, paid off a mortgage on his land, or made an investment of some sort."

Up to the outbreak of the European War every mail took thousands of dollars for deposit in the banks of Italy, Austria, Hungary, Russia, and other countries from which the more recent immigrants came, thus increasing the already large deposits there of money earned in America.

While there is no denying that the improved conditions here have the effect of bettering the lot of the immigrant, there is still another aspect of the effects of the working of the tide-rip. This

aspect has regard for the welfare of the Americanized and native workers who, with a higher standard of living, are also engaged along with the immigrant in industrial pursuits.

A contrast of the low economic status of the arriving immigrant with the higher standard of living of the native and Americanized worker is presented in detail by the author in *The Immigrant Invasion*.[1] Therein, also, the necessity to support this higher standard of living is explained as the basis of the higher wage demands of the native worker. The relation of this lower standard of the toilers of Europe to that of the American workingman and the relation of the two to wages are not properly understood.

This standard of living all depends upon a few things—the quality and quantity of food and clothing and shelter. If, for instance, the workers of southeastern Europe ate as much meat and other substantial food of as good quality as do the workers of the United States, if they lived in as good a house, wore as good clothes, sent their children to school, had a home life of some degree of comfort, and were affected by the other more expensive influences of democratic institutions, they would find it compulsory to earn and they would spend fully as much to live as does the American workingman. This is proven in the thousands of cases so conspicuous among naturalized citizens of the older immigrant races who have been raised to this higher standard of liv-

[1] Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1913.

ing by their environment in this country. In consequence, they can not afford to work for a low wage any more than can the native worker.

Reversing the statement somewhat, if the American worker had not effectively operating upon him the broad social forces that make him dissatisfied with a condition in life similar to that of the European toiler, then he, too, would be content with a wage equally as low. We have seen how this more recent arrival who comes to America lives in his native home in Europe. If the American workingman were to content himself with mere food, clothing, and shelter of as poor quality, if he lived here as the immigrant lives in Europe, he, too, could afford to work for as low a wage as the imported European and from it could accumulate savings.

The representatives of these two widely varying standards meet in competition for employment and wages at the doors of our industries with somewhat the same commodity to sell. This commodity is labor. The laws of economics teach that where two similar commodities bear different prices, other things being equal, the purchaser will buy the cheaper. Unregulated, the competition of the lower rate of one railroad fixes the rate on all rival lines. One storekeeper selling shoes at five dollars a pair will keep down or reduce higher prices for the same commodity in other stores. The operation of the power of competition which the immigrant brings to bear upon the native worker in the sale of labor has a simi-

lar effect. The price of his labor—the wage for which he will work—is lower than that demanded by the native. All that a manager or a foreman of a mine, mill, or factory needs in order to make effective the lower wage scale is not as large a number of immigrants as he has workers, but just enough of those willing to work for the low wages to enable him to threaten the native employee with the loss of his job. Thus a foreman or boss can in divers ways effectively use one immigrant against fifty or one hundred employees. In consequence, a small number of immigrants working for a low wage sets the rate of pay and determines the conditions of employment for a much larger group of workers.

The basis of this ability of the immigrant laborer to undersell the native worker is illustrated as follows in the Report of the Immigration Commission: "The recent immigrant males, being usually single, or, if married, having left their wives abroad, have been able to adopt in large measure a group instead of a family living arrangement, and thereby to reduce their cost of living to a point far below that of the American or older immigrant in the same industry or the same level of occupations. The method of living usually followed is that commonly known as the 'boarding-boss system.' Under this arrangement a married immigrant or his wife or a single man constitutes the head of the household, which, in addition to the family of the head, will usually be made up of two to twenty boarders or lodgers.

Each lodger pays the boarding boss a fixed sum, ordinarily two dollars to three dollars per month, for lodging, cooking, and washing, the food being usually bought by the boarding boss and its cost shared equally by the individual members of the group. Another common arrangement is for each member of the household to purchase his own food and have it cooked separately. Under this general method of living, which prevails among the greater portion of the immigrant households, the entire outlay for necessary living expenses of each adult member ranges from nine dollars to fifteen dollars each month. The additional expenditures of the recent immigrant wage earners have been small. Every effort has been made to save as much as possible."

The Bureau of Labor of the United States Government, in a pamphlet reporting upon the cost of living of an Italian or Hungarian, shows that in eighty-nine gangs aggregating more than fifteen hundred men the cost for food per man was $5.30 and for shanty room and sundries $1.49 a month. The average earnings were $37.07, leaving for each man a saving of $30.27 a month.

This competition of the immigrant with the native worker is much more serious today than it was during the arrival upon our shores of the aliens of the earlier immigration. While these also were principally farmers and farm laborers, at the same time their distribution in this country was more largely upon the farms and not as now in our industries. This change from farm labor-

ers seeking land and a permanent home upon it to those in search of wages through temporary industrial employment is as important in many ways as are the changes in the racial composition of our immigration or in its geographical distribution within the United States.

Take only one illustration. The liberal land policy of the Federal Government as represented in the Homestead bill, signed by President Lincoln in 1862, was most beneficial to the artisan class of the eastern states in that it gave to the native worker in times of industrial depression, and even during prosperous times when wages did not keep pace with the increase in his standard of living, the alternative of choosing between continuing his trade or taking up land to farm. This situation prevented a surplus labor population from developing too rapidly, the excess being constantly drained off on to the land in the West. In consequence, even in spite of large immigration, the rate of wages of the industrial worker was easily maintained at the point not very far removed from that which the standard of living of the self-employed farmer was able to maintain. If wages fell too far below the worker's wants, he was not compelled to continue at work but could take advantage of this opportunity that was open to him to work the land.

Prior to the panic of 1893, the existence of this situation had the effect of forcing out into the West that portion of the population of the eastern cities which was affected in their employment

by industrial and financial disturbances. It was a common occurrence to witness hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers from idle industries pouring into the limitless West where land was to be had on credit almost for the asking. These included immigrant operatives to whom the opportunity to secure land at such low prices free from rentals, ties, or poor-rates was a greater inducement when out of work than that of returning to the adverse conditions in Europe from which they had migrated.

But the panic of 1893 marks a change. No longer was there an abundance of unoccupied land in the West upon which the excess population thrown out of employment could settle. The unprecedented immigration of the eighties had clogged and choked the stream of labor that had been pouring into industrial pursuits. How great a part the tremendous immigration of the eighties had to do with precipitating this economic convulsion we have no means of telling. But the panic almost instantly checked immigration. Our industrial fabric was shaken to its very foundation. For the first time the country experienced idle farm hands in large numbers tramping the country in search of work, large numbers of unemployed operatives thronging the streets of factory towns, laborers abandoning the industrial districts and pouring into the cities, all demanding work or food. It was the time of Coxey's armies. It brought the vanguard of that long train of social problems with which the industrial his-

tory of England the past hundred years has made us all too familiar.

The panic of 1907 repeated the experience. It emphasized over again the fact that the equalizing influences of the pioneer period of this new country have passed, never to return; that no longer are there any unoccupied public lands that can be cultivated to advantage by the small farmer. What land available for settlement still remains in the West has increased in price beyond the means of the immigrant to purchase. All this tends to make the competition of the immigrant with the native worker much more severe today than formerly, and also more successful.

CHAPTER XV

TWO VIEWS OF THE TIDE-RIP

"It is certainly not fair or just to the American workingman or to those who have come here some years ago that a newly arrived immigrant should be forced by his own necessities to take the first job that is offered to him. It means that he takes the job held by some one who preceded him here or who was born in this country. I think it is not unreasonable, with the large population we have and with our citizens irregularly employed, for us to afford to those who are here the first and best consideration."

Thus succinctly stated is a clear view of some effects of immigration as seen by Mr. John Mitchell, formerly President of the United Mine Workers of America and the leader of the anthracite miners in their great strikes of 1900 and 1902. These strikes were brought about in large part by the disastrous effects upon the wages and standard of living of the anthracite mine workers through the ruthless competition of unregulated immigration. He says:

I belong to an organization of which practically all the coal miners of America are members. And in this period of un-

precedented industrial prosperity the people of my trade are given the opportunity to work about two hundred days a year. There is certainly something the matter when a man who offers to work three hundred days a year is permitted to work only two hundred days, and if during this time of great industrial activity a trade or an industry is only permitted to work two hundred days a year, what will it be permitted to work in times of either financial or industrial depression? It is a matter of grave concern to the six hundred thousand men who mine coal in America whether there is to be some reasonable restriction made upon the admission of aliens into this country. I do not approach the subject as a student or an expert, but I do approach it as a practical workingman who has from daily experience observed the effect of practically unregulated immigration.[1]

"To us who have rubbed up against immigration in times when we were not at the pinnacle of prosperity and when men are competing with each other, vieing with each other for a living for themselves and their offspring, then we feel it, then we know something about immigration," says Mr. James O'Connell, President of the International Association of Machinists and a member of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

It is not academic with us. It is not a matter of figures with us. There is a practical point to this. I have the honor of representing an organization of one hundred thousand skilled mechanics, and we feel the immigration proposition every day. We meet it every day in our own way. We meet the man who comes in every day and stands at the shop door. We have to compete with him. He is not competing

[1] *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 68-69.

with us, we compete with him, and if we succeed, all right. If we succeed in assimilating, well and good. But if we don't, what then?

The question of immigration has its effect upon the wealth producers of our country—upon the wage earners who are in competition every day with the immigrant—and they are the ones most affected, yes, very materially affected.

Our living is gauged by immigration. Our wages are based on immigration; the condition of our family, the way our families are cared for and fed is gauged by immigration; the schooling of our children is dictated by immigration. It is governed by the fellow who is competing with us for a job. Has that any effect upon our people or our standard of living? We are the ones who suffer from immigration, not the employer.

We have been up against it so often and so continuously that we do not need to be from Missouri in our case, because we meet it here and there and everywhere—in the mining district, in the mechanical trades, in the clothing industry, the allied industries—and in all of the industries in which labor is engaged we are confronted with immigration. We can not show to you, we can not prove to you, we can not bring to you chapter and verse for all these things, but we meet it, we know it. It is in our hearts, before our eyes every minute of the day. We simply say we know it is so because we have suffered from it. We have felt it and our families have suffered from it, and are being punished by it. It is a real problem with us, and not imaginary. We feel that our standard of living is kept down. We feel that by a better protection against immigration, we would be given opportunities for a still higher standard of citizenship.

We want fair opportunities here, and we do not want an unfair competition. In other words, we do not want the American labor to compete with the slums of Europe for a living. We don't want a tariff upon our product, and no tariff upon competition with our labor. We want protection from all sides. I do not say this from a political standpoint, as I am not a politician.

We could not convince you that you are wrong and we are right, but I think we feel it. I know we suffer from the results of it, and I think we know that we need some protection from it, and I am sure if you were with us in our daily walks of life, if you were in our factories and workshops, and down in the bowels of the earth where labor is employed, you would agree with us as to the necessity for protection. Not only in prosperous times like these, but when the reverses come. Then we have to contend with not only what has come, but what will come in under the present restriction.[1]

Thus we have descriptions of the operation of immigration's tide-rip from men who actually see its workings day in and day out. They describe it from no theoretical or imaginary point of view but from that of practical experience with its opposing currents. Their view is reflected in the following, which is contained in a circular issued by the Junior Order of United American Mechanics to its members: "Will we American citizens allow the Dago, the other riff-raff of southern Europe, and the coolie laborers, who will work for a matter of nothing and live on the refuse of the cesspool and the garbage dump, to replace American labor and take our earnings back to foreign lands, or assist more filth and vice to land on our shores?"

But immigration also presents itself from a point of view other than the distribution of wealth through wages. This is the production of wealth. They who view it from the standpoint of production see "the enormous undeveloped resources of

[1] *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 73-77.

this country—the mines to be exploited, railroads and highways to be built and rebuilt, farms to be opened up or to be more intensively cultivated, manufactures to be multiplied, and the markets of the world to be conquered by our exports, while there are not enough workmen or not enough willing to do the hard and disagreeable work at the bottom."[1]

This view of immigration is the only one usually seen by the employer. Crudely, but at the same time pointedly, this view is presented by Mr. D. G. Ambler, a member of the Board of Trade of Jacksonville, Florida. After stating that it may be we have enough and perhaps too much of skilled labor, he says the time has come when all laws that interfere with the supply of common labor should be repealed. "To object to it on the ground that these laborers do not become a part of the body politic is equivalent to saying that all such forms of productive energy as horses, mules, and machinery should be rejected because they can not be incorporated in the body politic," is the opinion of this spokesman of the employer.

However much this blunt way of expressing this view may shock the sentimentalist and the patriot, it represents the attitude of a large element in our society. It has no regard whatever for the view which holds that that immigration only is desirable which will assimilate with and become a part of our social order. It is the view

[1] Commons: *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 119.

of the slaveholder towards the negro in the days before the Civil War.

The immigrant, just as was true of the imported negro slave, combines bodily vigor with a docility and meager physical demands that make it practicable to obtain his labor at the low cost of the coarsest subsistence. These aliens are not purchased outright by the producers of steel, coal, iron, and others who use their labor, as was the case of the plantation owners with their slave labor. But like this forcible importation of the negro in the days gone by, the present-day free and liberal importation of immigrants does permit of the rapid creation and as rapid accumulation of wealth through exploitation by the class in society that is in an economically advantageous position.

Instead of the products being of the field, such as tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, and so on, as in the period before the war, they are now of the mine, mill, and factory, such as coal, iron, copper, steel, clothing, and so on. While the commodities produced have changed their material form, the object of the producer has not changed one particle. History supplies more than one illustration of the falsity of the assertion that the great body of men must be kept on starvation wages, or at least must ever have held over them the dread or fear of starvation, in order to secure work from them.

But there are some immigrants that the employer even would not allow to enter the country. In the words of Mr. Ambler: "Keep the insane out. Keep the diseased out. Keep the criminal

class out. But let in every able-bodied man and woman. On this basis alone can we continue to prosper. The present law against contracting for labor in Europe prevents the farmers and mill men of the South getting the common labor they need and bringing it direct to their own ports, and it is for this section I enter my plea with all the vigor I am capable of."

With his siren's song of self-interest Mr. Ambler mingles confusingly a bar or two of sectional patriotism:

The South of the present is awake; she realizes her power, her resources, but alas, awaking from her lethargy, she finds her hands tied by the laws of her country. She finds the labor she needs denied her. The education that she has accorded to her colored population has in large part robbed her of her most valuable asset, her labor, and today she stands asking that the laws of her country be amended so as to enable her to get relief from Europe, or, if need be, from Asia. We much prefer the laborer from northern Europe and the sturdy Italian from Lombardy, or even the Slav, feeling sure that with time and opportunity they will all make good citizens, but if need be we will take the Oriental, feeling quite sure that we can profit by his labor, letting him do with his wages as he will.

Again I say, shut out the criminals, shut out the imbecile, shut out those having contagious diseases, shut out, if you will, the skilled laborer or pauper laborer from the cities that interferes with a man getting a fair wage in this country, but do not shut out the man of the axe, the hoe, the plow, and the pick. Do away with the laws that prevent the farmers and men of the South and West importing direct the labor needed to cultivate and raise the food, and the fiber needed to feed and clothe you and them. Give us of the South a chance to fill up our waste places with homes of

sturdy immigrants. Give us a chance to till our lands and work our log and turpentine camps, our mills and our factories.[1]

"A million more immigrants a year" should be the slogan of the employing class, in the opinion of Mr. Theodore Ahrens, President of the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company. He does not believe we have reached a point where we do not need continued immigration. "As a manufacturer I today feel the necessity, the absolute want, for labor," he says. "That condition exists not only in Kentucky but also in Alabama and other southern states, and I believe that we could use a million more immigrants a year, but they should be the best of the kind. This is the keynote of the whole situation. I believe such immigrants as criminals or consumptives or epileptics or people who are not fit to take care of themselves should be kept out. I believe that every absolutely healthy man, woman, or child who comes into the United States, whether they have twenty-five dollars or not, should be allowed to come here, because we know this country was built up by just such people."[2]

These two views of one of the most important aspects of the immigration tide as it pours into our industries have been seen through the eyes of two groups in our population who occupy diametrically opposite and economically antagonistic positions, each having as its basis economic self-

[1] *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 94-97.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

it is a well known fact that in all modern societies the higher the social class, the smaller is the average family."[1]

It is hard to see how any one can seriously hold the opinion that the immigrants simply force the native laborers up into higher positions, continues Professor Fairchild. "It is, of course, perfectly obvious that at the present time most of the native workmen in industry are in the better paid positions, and that the lower grades are occupied by foreigners. But the question is, are there as many native workmen in high positions as there would have been in all positions if there had been no immigration? This is what the 'forcing up' argument assumes, and the falsity of the position seems self-evident. It appears much more reasonable to believe that while a few native workers have been forced up, a vastly larger number are working side by side with the immigrants and earning approximately the same wages—to say nothing of that other body of native labor which the immigrants have prevented from ever being brought into existence."[2] Also, it has been claimed, says Professor Fairchild, "that a large proportion of the 'hobo' class (who are, to be sure, not necessarily criminal) are native Americans who have been forced out of employment by foreign competition. In a similar way, other individuals may have been driven into active crime."[3]

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 223.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

"There is every reason to believe," he adds, "that our immigrants have not meant a gain in the labor supply, but the substitution of one labor element for another. Not only have the immigrants in general displaced the natives, but the newer immigrants have displaced the older ones in a wide variety of industries and occupations. This latter process has gone on before our very eyes; it is manifest and perfectly comprehensible. . . . While some of the displaced individuals have gone into other, very likely higher, occupations, the real substitution has been the concomitant of a cessation of immigration from the older sources. The north Europeans, being unwilling to meet the competition of races industrially inferior to them, have either ceased emigrating in large numbers, or else are going elsewhere. At any rate they do not come here. The diminution of the supply of native labor has been brought about in an analogous way, though in this case the restrictive forces operate upon the principles of reproduction instead of immigration."[1]

"The number of unskilled workers coming in at the present time is sufficient to check decidedly the normal tendency toward an improved standard of living in many lines of industry," says Professor J. W. Jenks, formerly a member of the Immigration Commission. He says this is "the fundamental reason" why there should be at the present time "a rather widely extended restriction" of immigration. "Of course I am well aware

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 342.

of the fact that Mr. Hourwich in his new book, as often before, and many others claim that the bringing of these laborers simply fills the demand for unskilled workmen and that the American laborers and the earlier immigrants go to higher positions. That was doubtless true earlier; that is doubtless true in part now, but the figures collected by the Immigration Commission, from a sufficient number of industries in different sections of the country to give general conclusions, prove beyond doubt that in a good many cases these incoming immigrants actually drive out into other localities and into other unskilled trades large numbers of American workingmen and workingmen of the earlier immigration who do not get better positions, but, rather, worse ones. My own judgment and that of a number of our investigators when the work of the Immigration Commission began was substantially that upheld now by Mr. Hourwich and those who agree with him. But Professor Lauck, our chief superintendent of investigators in the field, and, so far as I am aware, every single investigator in the field, before the work ended reached the conclusion from personal observation that the tendency of the large percentage of immigration of unskilled workers is clearly to lower the standard of living in a number of industries, and the statistics of the commission support this impression. I therefore changed my earlier views."[1]

[1] Letter from Professor Jenks to President Taft, February 8, 1913.

"An increasingly large number of laborers go downward instead of upward," says the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. "Young men, full of ambition and high hopes for the future, start their life as workers, but meeting failure after failure in establishing themselves in some trade or calling, their ambitions and hopes go to pieces, and they gradually sink into the ranks of migratory and casual workers. Continuing their existence in these ranks, they begin to lose self-respect and become 'hoboes.' Afterwards, acquiring certain negative habits, as those of drinking and begging, and losing all self-control, self-respect, and desire to work, they become 'down-and-outs'—tramps, bums, vagabonds, gamblers, pickpockets, yeggmen, and other petty criminals—in short, public parasites, the number of whom seems to be growing faster than the general population."[1]

Over against these facts, in an effort to minimize the seriousness of the tendency they portray, is the opinion of "liberal immigrationists" to the effect that the workers who are displaced and who are deprived of their means of livelihood by immigration "go up higher," the claim having reference to their economic position in this world. I have never seen any successful attempt to present facts to prove this assertion or to follow this line of argument to its logical conclusion. And I never expect to see anyone trying to do so who values his reputation for intelligence. The in-

[1] Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, p. 157.

ference plainly intended is unavoidable, that is, that this competition of the immigrant is not bad, that in fact it may be good for the American workingman, inasmuch as it enables him to "go up higher" into a better paying occupation. To secure this laudable end we should impose no obstacles to the unlimited importation of the cheaper European labor!

For the sake of the argument let us admit that some native workers do "go up higher" into better paying trades and occupations. It is not admitted, however, that immigration is necessary in order for this process to take place. The fact is, this desirable end can be better accomplished in another way.

In every industrial society two counteracting economic forces are constantly at work. One is directed by capital to keep the cost of production at the minimum. This affects wages—the cost of labor—just as it affects the price of any other element entering into the cost of producing a commodity, and it tends to keep down wages. The other force also affects wages—it is the concentrated broad social influences at work upon the worker's standard of living with the tendency to increase both standard and wages. If this standard rises to the point where it tends to raise wages too high, then the necessity of capital to keep down the cost of production compels the manager of capital to resort to counteracting influences. In the absence of cheap labor through immigration, such an influence is the labor of the machine

when brought to bear in competition with the labor of the worker.

If there were no immigration much of the so-called rough work that society needs to have done and which is now performed for the greater part by the cheaper labor of the immigrant would be done by machines. Cheap labor prevents invention and retards the introduction of machinery. A country that has an oversupply of cheap human labor has no record of any consequence in machine invention. The opposite is true, however, of countries where wages are relatively high. It is so because of the necessity capital is put to in order to keep down the cost of production, and this urges capital to substitute the cheaper machine labor. This encourages inventive skill, and in the absence of immigration would encourage it still more, thus improving the arts and also relieving human beings of some of the present inhuman toil.

In addition to the competition of the machine to prevent wages from going too high, there is always at work the competition of the single man with the married worker; of the young, just entering upon their life-work, with the older wage earner; of girls and women with men.

If these are not sufficient to urge on the native worker there are always present in every American community those powerful social forces which, unhampered, tend constantly and regularly to raise the worker's standard of living by increasing his effective wants. These wants draw rather than push or force him towards the higher and

better paid positions, for the simple reason that these positions supply the wage which alone permits these growing wants to be satisfied. In brief, under these more natural conditions the native worker would be "drawn" towards the better paying trades and occupations after he has served his apprenticeship in the lesser ones. He should not be "pushed" or "forced" up higher by the ruthless competition of the more cheaply produced foreign labor.

Employers, ministers, steamship ticket agents, university professors, employment agents, settlement workers and others who blandly, and some of them sometimes innocently, discuss this advantage of immigration would see it in a different aspect, and in its true aspect, if conditions were such that each year we imported from foreign countries hundreds of thousands of persons engaged in these various activities. Under these conditions competition for their places in our social organization would soon bring about a situation where protests loud and deep would ring out from all in these groups. They would then feel the pressure towards lower profits and salaries to such an extent as seriously to lower their standard of living. Then they would do exactly what the American workingman is coming consciously to do—they would oppose the practically unrestricted and unregulated influx of foreign competitors.

Where the immigrants are outside the control of the labor union, in which the native worker has organized himself largely for protection against

the competition of these aliens, the latter are docile and obedient, are ignorant of their rights, and work long hours for low wages. Lacking in understanding and in appreciation of all that fair wages to the citizen-worker means towards the continuance of our democratic institutions, this imported laborer with his competitive ability is playing havoc with the growth and development of our democratic society and with the democratization of our production and distribution of wealth. This is one of the most conspicuous economic effects of immigration. It depresses the money wages of the native worker, prevents them from rising with the increasing cost of his necessities and thus keeps him at a relatively lower standard of living while all about him social influences are at work demanding a rise in his standard.

Do not the pitifully low wages paid in many of our industries and the physically injurious low standard of living of the workers in many of our industrial centers bear any relation to immigration? Does not unemployment, such as was so shockingly in evidence in all our large cities the past several winters preceding the European War, indicate that there is something wrong somewhere? Does not child-labor, the industrial labor of women, the congestion of population, long hours of work, the rising death-toll from preventable accidents and occupational diseases, the startling increase in poverty among our industrial classes, the discarding by our industries of men in their forties for the labor of the much younger immi-

grants—do not these and like social horrors have a relation to immigration?

Is there not still another aspect of this competition of the immigrant worker? Of the thirty or forty per cent. of our total immigration that returns to Europe, an enormous number go back, by the evidence of the Immigration Commission, defeated, disheartened, ruined.

The first annual report of the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration for 1911 says:

> The combination of steamship agents, emigrant hotels, runners, porters, expressmen, and cabmen throughout the country, operating chiefly through New York City, forms one of the most stupendous systems for fleecing the alien from the time he leaves his home country until he reaches his destination in America, and vice versa.
>
> In the matter of living and labor conditions in labor camps and colonies, aliens are discriminated against in regard to housing, sanitation, food supplies, and employment methods, being denied the ordinary decencies of life; in regard to labor conditions, aliens are checked and tagged, amounts ordered by the padroni are deducted from their wages without their knowledge or express sanction, and exploitations occur in hospital charges and the purchases of supplies.
>
> In the matter of industrial calamities and personal injuries, exploitation by lawyers and their runners and claim agents and collection agents bear heavily on the alien because of his alienship and international complications with his family and property in his home country.
>
> In the matter of savings, the private banking laws are affording no protection whatever outside of cities of the first class; frauds in the sale of homes to aliens by means of the solving of puzzles or by means of excursions arranged to interest aliens in "show" pieces of property, or by other means are widespread; and the settlement of affairs in the

old country, when an alien wishes to settle here, is in the hands of a most unscrupulous class of lawyers, notaries public, collection agents, information bureaus, and protective leagues.

In the matter of education for children, inadequate provisions exist for taking care of groups of people, who collect with the starting of new industries in remote places, such as mines and quarries, and adults outside of cities are wholly neglected in matters of instruction in English, civics, and naturalization. There are no systematic assimilation processes by the state and cities under way except in the largest cities.

Commenting on the above, Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, says:

The reader of this indictment of America's civilization may well wonder if there could be worse conditions for the bureau to investigate and describe. In the body of the report, of which there are 184 pages, and diagrams besides, the details bear out the ugly summary. If there are any bodily ills or human brutishness or crooked customs or skin games to which the immigrants are not exposed, from their landing at Ellis Island until they either go back home to Europe or get away from the clutches of the harpies that beset them here, it would be interesting to have them set forth. The record of the ills under which they suffer as given in the report is sickening, and the thought that most of them come from the immigrants' own countrymen or from men who should be their protectors is, in the extreme, discouraging.

The question naturally arises, Why do the immigrants come at all, when their experiences are so outrageously bad as here officially given? Do they know beforehand the risks they run of misfortune in endless forms? Or, bad as conditions are for them here, are they possibly worse off in their own country?

Of course there are immigrants and immigrants. The attention of the bureau is naturally taken up with the case of the poorest, most ignorant, most helpless. But of these there are

great numbers. . . . When we contemplate the fate of the horde of immigrants arriving in New York we do not feel proud of what is being done with them by our country. The opportunity for the poor of all lands, of which our people once boasted, is a sadly dwindled vision.[1]

Much depends upon one's point of view. This is as true of the effects of immigration as it is of any other of our many present-day problems. In spite of the competition of immigrant labor of the past fifty years or more, the average American workingman has a higher standard of living today than he had before the Civil War—he not only receives higher money wages but he also works a less number of hours each day and his real wages have risen considerably. If this is true one might justly ask, "What, then, have been and where are the injurious effects of immigration?" The answer is as to what might have been if the competition of the immigrant had been better controlled in the interest of the American worker and of American democracy. Undoubtedly wages would be higher than they are now, the standard of living of the average American toiler would be more in conformity with the demands of his educational, religious, political, and social environment, and many of the evils of present-day industrialism would not now exist. Our whole industrial state, instead of being autocratic and monarchical, instead of being conducted in the interest and to the advantage of a limited few, would rest on broad grounds of democracy.

[1] *The American Federationist*, November, 1912.

"The standard of living is the index of the comfort and true prosperity of a nation," says Professor Fairchild. "A high standard is a priceless heritage, which ought to be guarded at all costs.[1] . . . A standard of living, once established, has great tenacity, and people will suffer almost anything in the way of hardship before they will reduce it."[2]

We must consciously realize that it is not conducive to the success of American democracy that the native worker should be content with a standard of living as low as that of the immigrant. This American is more than an industrial toiler, he is a citizen also; he is a husband and a father. His wants naturally are greater in number and these he can satisfy only through wages. He is subject to inescapable pressure from all those social, religious, political, educational, and economic forces which are back of that constant tendency so noticeable in the United States for the standard of living of the people to increase. The wages of the native worker should be released sufficiently from the competition of the immigrant to permit of that elasticity which keeps wages within promising distance of standard of living. This can be influenced in part through better governmental regulation of the volume of immigration. It is upon the gratification by the industrial toiler of these growing wants that rests the success of "The American Experiment," the answer to "What is the Promise of American Life?"

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 303. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR LAW

To prevent the injurious effects of immigration in its operation upon the wages and standard of living and the general social condition of the native worker is the object of what has come to be known as the "Alien Contract Labor Law."

These effects were felt and their cause consciously recognized by the American workingman as early as 1820. At that time the ranks of free labor were being largely increased by the arrival each year of thousands of aliens from the British Isles and from the Continent who were coming here eager to begin life anew in the land of liberty. No law was then on our statute books to protect the native worker from this competition, and, in consequence, many of the industries of the country were drawing freely upon immigration for their labor.

In this connection it is of significance to note that the modern labor movement had its origin in the economic forces that were operating in the country at that time. Ever since then immigration has played a large part among the basal forces that have become interwoven in the American labor movement. It was especially conspicu-

ous during the period of industrial activity which culminated in the organization of the Knights of Labor in 1869, the first strong national union of workers. This association was started by garment workers, who in particular were suffering from the injurious effects of immigration. The history of labor organization since, and its present-day tendency to emphasize industrial unionism runs parallel with the increase in immigration.

The credit, if credit there is, for securing the enactment of the Alien Contract Labor Law is due to the Knights of Labor. This was in 1885. In order to understand its significance, it is necessary to review briefly the economic conditions which preceded and which were the cause of its enactment.

These are indicated by the author of *Emigration, Emigrants and Know-Nothings,* written by "A Foreigner" and published in 1854. He says:

> Our manufacturers, iron makers, machinists, miners, agriculturists, railway, canal and other contractors, private families, hotel keepers, and many others, have got into the way of expecting and seeking for cheap labor, through the supply of operatives, workmen, laborers, house-help, and various kinds of workers, kept up by the indiscriminate and unrestrained admission of emigrants. Indeed it is no secret that emigrants, or rather foreign workers, have become an article of importation; professedly for the purpose of providing for the deficiency of supply in the labor market, but in reality with the intention of obtaining efficient workers at lower wages.
>
> I remember well in the early part of 1846, when our manufacturers and iron makers, far and near, were struggling hard for the retention of the high protective tariff then in existence,

and the profits on cotton spinning and manufacturing ranged from thirty to one hundred per cent., that hundreds of operatives were imported from England for the purpose of obtaining practiced hands, and to keep wages from rising. And I remember also that some years ago when there was an attempt to reduce the wages of iron makers and machinists at Pittsburgh and elsewhere, and the men resisted, that importation was resorted to with considerable success. This importation has had, and probably will continue to have, a very unfair and deplorable effect upon the native laboring population; for it needs no proof to sustain the assertion, that but for these specific and large importations of cotton and woolen manufacturing operatives, machinists and iron workers, the wages of the then located population must have risen, and the natives been made better off.

It is worthy of mention and attention, in this connection, that master coal miners, master iron makers, master machinists, master cotton and woolen manufacturers, etc., are to a man advocates for a very high tariff upon coal, iron, steel, machines, tools, and cotton and woolen goods; and for the unlimited admission of workers without a sixpence duty; by which means the consumers of all those articles are made to pay exorbitant prices for their benefit (the benefit of the masters) while they can and do avail themselves of the free importation of labor in order to keep wages from rising or for the purpose of lowering them. This is certainly the protective system, but it is protecting the masters and not the workers; the strong against the weak; the high livers and little workers, against the low livers and hard workers. If any protective system is wanted, I am an advocate for a protective system which shall prevent pauper labor from coming into the country, and admitting all merchandise free which by making it abundant and cheap would add to the comfort of the masses.

The principle underlying the Alien Contract Labor Law is to the native worker what the pro-

tective-tariff principle is to the domestic manufacturer. That it has not worked in practice as successfully as has the protective tariff does not invalidate the comparison any the less.

The first step taken by the National Government in the direction of protecting the native worker from the free and unlimited importation of foreign labor was by the Act of May 6, 1882, which suspended for ten years the immigration of Chinese laborers and which is known as the "Chinese Exclusion Law." It was reënacted in 1892 for another ten years, and in 1902 was extended indefinitely.

The Alien Contract Labor Law of February 26, 1885, made it unlawful in any manner to prepay the transportation or assist or encourage the importation of any alien "under contract or agreement, parol or special, express or implied," made previous to the importation of such alien, to perform labor or service of any kind in the United States.[1] Two years later, in 1887, Congress enacted that all such excluded persons, upon arrival, "shall be sent back to the nations to which they belong and from whence they came." The supplementary act of March 3, 1891, provided that it shall be deemed a violation of the act "to assist or encourage the importation or migration of any alien by promise of employment through advertisements printed and published in any foreign country, and any alien coming to this country in

[1] Skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country.

consequence of such an advertisement shall be treated as coming under a contract as contemplated by such act, and the penalties by said act imposed shall be applicable in such a case."

Subsequently, various other amendments were added to these laws. That of March 3, 1893, "to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract labor laws," provided that all transportation companies regularly engaged in bringing alien immigrants to the United States "shall twice a year file a certificate with the Secretary of Labor that they have furnished, to be kept conspicuously exposed to view in the office of each of their agents in foreign countries authorized to sell emigrant tickets, a copy of the law of March 3, 1891, and of all subsequent laws of this country relative to immigration, printed in large letters, in the language of the country where the copy of the law is to be exposed to view, and that they have instructed their agents to call attention thereto of persons contemplating emigration before selling tickets to them."

By the act of February 20, 1907, the contract laborers who are excluded from admission into the United States are described as follows: "Persons hereinafter called contract laborers who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled; those who have been, within one year from the date of

application for admission to the United States, deported as having been induced or solicited to migrate as above described; any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign Government either directly or indirectly."

The law makes it a misdemeanor for anyone in any manner whatsoever to prepay the transportation or in any way to assist or encourage the importation or migration to the United States of any contract laborer. Those violating this provision are subject to a fine for each offense in the sum of one thousand dollars. Any individual may bring suit for this amount and if successful can retain it, a separate suit being allowable for each alien assisted into the country in this way. Neither directly nor indirectly, by writing, printing, or oral representation shall transportation companies or owners of vessels or others engaged in transporting aliens to the United States solicit, invite, or encourage the immigration of any aliens into the country. A fine not exceeding one thousand dollars or imprisonment not exceeding three years or both is provided for any person bringing into or attempting to bring into the country any alien not duly admitted by an immigrant inspector or not lawfully entitled to enter.

The term "laborer, skilled and unskilled," has been interpreted by Government officials in enforcing the immigration laws to mean, primarily, persons whose work is essentially physical, or, at least, manual, as farm laborers, street laborers, factory hands, contractors' men, stablemen, freight handlers, stevedores, miners, and the like; and persons whose work is less physical, but still manual, and who may be highly skilled, as carpenters, stonemasons, tile setters, painters, blacksmiths, mechanics, tailors, printers, and the like, but not persons whose work is neither distinctively manual nor mechanical, but rather professional, artistic, mercantile, or clerical, as pharmacists, draftsmen, photographers, designers, salesmen, bookkeepers, stenographers, copyists, and the like.

In the interpretation of these contract labor laws two important principles have been determined upon to guide the action of the Department of Justice. One is that these laws prohibit "any offer or promise of employment which is of such a definite character that an acceptance thereof would constitute a contract."[1] The other is to the effect that the laws are "directed against a promise which specially designates the particular job or work or employment for which the alien's labor is desired."[2] This necessarily specific construction of the laws leaves a large loop-hole through which hundreds of thousands of immi-

[1] Report of the Immigration Commission.
[2] *Ibid.*

grants annually arrive in the United States who are induced to come here under the promise of employment and whom it is the intention of the laws to exclude from entrance. If these contract labor laws could be made effective in practice they would strike at the root-cause of much of our recent immigration and would remove to a considerable extent the necessity for restriction by means of the literacy test.

This is true because the kind of promise or offer specified by the Department of Justice as cause of exclusion is relatively rare or, at least, is most difficult of uncovering. "Nothing so definite is required to induce unskilled laborers to emigrate," says Professor Fairchild. "Broad and general assurances of employment awaiting them are sufficient. The wide discrepancy between the letter and the interpretation of the law is unfortunate. This section of the law is the one upon which immigrants are coached more thoroughly than on any other. . . . The whole matter of contract labor needs to be thoroughly reconsidered."[1] If strictly interpreted and enforced, adds Professor Fairchild, the contract labor clause of the immigration law would exclude practically every immigrant who had the slightest assurance of employment awaiting him.

The law prohibiting the immigration of aliens under contract is one thing. Its enforcement is an entirely different proposition. That it is constantly being evaded, that persons whom it is

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 280.

intended should be kept out of the country gain entrance, is patent to anyone conversant with the facts. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of thousands of laborers who have been induced, solicited, stimulated, and in other ways persuaded to migrate to this country under promise of employment come here annually, the law to the contrary notwithstanding.

"There can be little question that a large part of the present immigration of unskilled laborers is induced to come to this country by more or less direct promises of employment, but these cases are exceedingly difficult of detection," said Senator Dillingham of Vermont in the debate in the Senate on the literacy-test provision for restricting immigration. Senator Dillingham was chairman of the Federal Immigration Commission which made an extensive investigation of the subject. "It is certain also," he said, "that a considerable part of this class of immigrants are solicited to come by agents and subagents of steamship companies working in various parts of Europe. Such solicitation is forbidden by the United States immigration law, but it appears that the enforcement of the law as it now stands is impracticable."

"Undoubtedly the great majority of eastern European immigrants coming to the United States are assured before leaving home that work will be available here," says Mr. W. W. Husband, an inspector of the Federal Bureau of Immigration and who in 1913 made a special investigation of

the subject in Europe for the United States Government. "Usually," he says, "they know the nature of the work and approximately what the wages will be. It is such assurance, as a rule, that induces them to come. Nearly all immigration originates in the villages and smaller towns, and when a community has sent out even a few emigrants those who remain at home are kept well advised relative to labor conditions in America. A considerable part of the immigration seems to result from general knowledge of this nature, while another large part moves in response to more direct advices from relatives or friends here.

"So far as could be learned the average eastern European who is contemplating emigration does not require an assurance that some specific job awaits him in this country, but only that labor is in demand. During the inquiry in Russia many attempts were made to ascertain the nature of the promises of work that had induced emigration in specific cases, and only rarely was it found that the emigrant had the promise of a particular job. The emigrating classes are confident that work is available here, because their friends have found it so, and their chief trouble is to get money with which to follow them. In many instances, of course, the assurance of employment is based on a more or less direct promise of employers that work will be available; but, as before suggested, a less specific assurance probably would have the same result in most cases. Nevertheless, the prac-

tice alluded to undoubtedly is so common that many of the immigrants are, technically at least, contract laborers. . . . Some indications were found which pointed to direct violations of the contract labor law through the recruiting of groups of laborers for specific employers. . . . A system has developed which makes artificial promotion of this nature practically unnecessary here so far as common labor is concerned. There is evidence also that steamship ticket agents in the United States sometimes seek to promote business by advising potential immigrants in Europe of opportunities for labor here." [1]

Contract laborers debarred in 1914 numbered 2,793 or eight per cent. of all aliens excluded. More than one-fourth of these, 724, were Italians; next in numerical importance came the English and then the Russians, these three races supplying forty-four out of every one hundred aliens excluded because they came here under contract for the sale of their labor.

Failing to secure from the Federal Government adequate protection from the importation of this cheap labor, the native workers in some of the states have had recourse to state laws. For instance, in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, and California, the employment of aliens on public works is expressly prohibited. In New York State, in 1915, the severity of the law was relaxed

[1] Appendix to the 1914 Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

by legislation in order not to interfere with the construction of the subways in New York City.

The anti-alien law of Arizona was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1915. Under its police powers that state had enacted a statute entitled "An act to protect the citizens of the United States in their employment against non-citizens," which provided that any employer of labor employing more than five workers at any one time "shall employ not less than eighty per cent. qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States." A fine of not less than $100 and imprisonment for not less than thirty days was the punishment for the conviction of any employer; also for any employee misrepresenting his nativity or citizenship.

The decision of the Supreme Court stated that the effect of such a statute would be to transfer the authority to control immigration from the Federal Government, in which it is vested solely, to the state, for the reason that the aliens "can not live where they can not work" and a denial of the opportunity of earning a livelihood is tantamount "to the assertion of the right to deny them entrance and abode." The same court, however, held constitutional the law of New York State which prohibited the employment of aliens on public works, the court distinguishing clearly between the power of the state in this direction and in that of exercising such authority over private employment.

Failure in these and other directions to secure

that protection which the native workers are beginning to feel is necessary, explains in large part the support organized labor is giving to the efforts to restrict immigration by means of the literacy test.

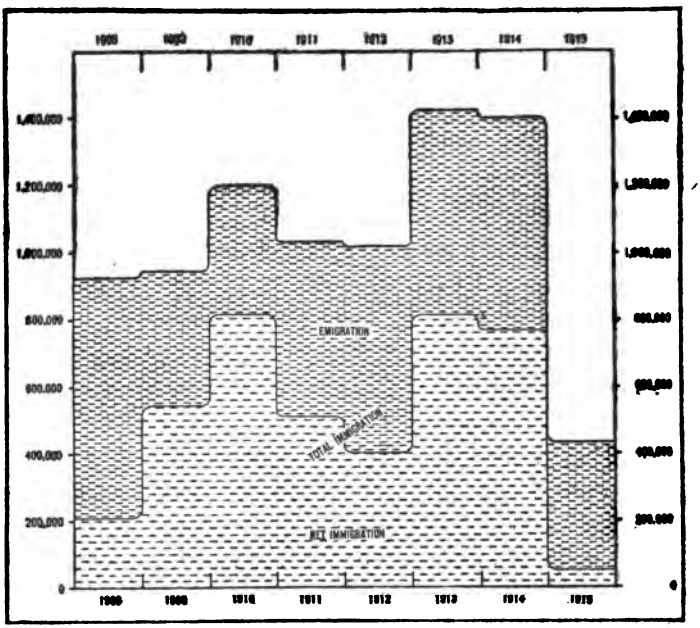
CHAPTER XVIII

WITHIN THE TIDE BASIN—NET IMMIGRATION

THAT all immigrants coming to our shores do not remain here has been made clear in the chapter "The Ebb of the Tide." While the flow of the tide brought a total of 8,379,000 for the eight years ending in 1915, the ebb took away during the same period as many as 4,259,000. This left a gain of immigration over and above emigration of 4,120,000. That is, our net immigration for these years has been only a little more than forty-nine per cent., or not quite one-half, of the total number of arrivals. In 1907 net immigration was twenty-three per cent., and in 1915 as low as twelve per cent. of the total, while in 1910 it was as high as sixty-eight per cent., or more than two-thirds.

The relation between immigration's flow and ebb and the net difference in the addition to our foreign-born population are indicated in the diagram on page 206, which shows immigration, emigration, and net immigration for each year from 1907 to 1915. The fluctuations in emigration, as will be seen by a study of the diagram, have varying effects upon net in relation to total immigration. For illustration, the years 1910 and 1913 gave almost exactly the same net immigration—

about eight hundred and twenty thousand. And yet in 1910 total immigration was one million two hundred thousand and in 1913 it exceeded one million four hundred thousand. This is explained by the fact that in 1913 emigration was some two



THE ANNUAL FLOW AND EBB OF IMMIGRATION AND THE NET GAIN IN IMMIGRANTS

hundred thousand greater than in 1910. Again, total immigration was almost the same in 1909 as in 1908, being for each year around nine hundred and twenty thousand. And yet in 1909 our net immigration exceeded five hundred and forty thousand, while in the year preceding it was less

than two hundred and twenty thousand. Such are the varying effects of emigration upon immigration, as to the net, that it not infrequently occurs that net immigration is greater when total immigration is less in one year compared with another.

The tide gauge which has been employed to measure these movements in the immigration tide is the statistical record of the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Government. But this gauge has not been consistently uniform over a period of years in the meaning of the unit that has been employed. This is pointed out by Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University.[1] In its administrative or statistical sense this unit, that is, the word "immigrant," is not defined in the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, but from that source and from instructions and other circulars issued by the bureau the following statements regarding its meaning have been drawn up by Professor Willcox:

1. The administrative or statistical meaning of "immigrant" is not fixed by statute but is determined by the definitions or explanations of the Bureau of Immigration. These are dependent upon and vary with the law and administrative decisions.

2. In the latest circular of the Bureau, immigrants are defined as "arriving aliens whose last permanent residence was in a country other than

[1] *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 103-107.

the United States who intend to reside in the United States."

3. This definition is modified by a subsequent paragraph of the same circular which excludes from the immigrant class "citizens of British North America and Mexico coming direct therefrom by sea or rail." So the official definition is substantially this: An alien, neither a resident of the United States nor a citizen of British North America, Cuba, or Mexico, who arrives in the United States intending to reside there. Thus the statistical definition excludes as immigrants arriving citizens of British North America, Cuba, and Mexico.

4. The statistical definition of immigrant has been modified several times by changes of law and administrative interpretation. Until January 1, 1906, an alien arrival was counted as an immigrant each time he entered the country, but since that date an alien who has acquired a residence in the United States and is returning from a visit abroad is not classed as an immigrant. This administrative change has reduced the number of immigrants more than ten per cent. and has made it difficult to compare the earlier and the later statistics. Until January 1, 1903, an alien arriving in the first or second cabin was not classed as an immigrant but under the head of other alien passenger. This change likewise makes it difficult to compare the figures before and after that date. By a mere change of administrative definition, the reported number of immigrants is thus increased

nearly twelve per cent. Until the same date an alien arrival in transit to some other country was deemed an immigrant but since then has been classed as a non-immigrant alien. This change also makes the figures before 1903 not strictly comparable with later ones. About three per cent. of those who were formerly classed as aliens have been excluded since 1903.

5. An immigrant in the statistical sense is a person liable for and paying the head tax. But to this there are two slight exceptions. Deserting alien seamen not apprehended are liable for the head tax which is paid by the steamship company from which they desert, but such cases are not included in the statistics. Citizens of British North America, Cuba, and Mexico coming from other ports than those of their own country are reported as immigrants but do not pay the head tax. Obviously both are minor exceptions hardly affecting the rule.

6. Probably other changes of definition have occurred in recent years. No attempt has been made to exhaust the list. These changes have probably tended to make the increase of immigration indicated by the figures greater than the actual increase, and to that degree to make the figures misleading.

The general tendency of these changes in the statistical use of the word immigrant has clearly been toward a closer agreement between the popular and the statistical meaning of the term. "It is a common but fallacious assumption," says

Professor Willcox, "that a word used as the name of a statistical unit has precisely the same meaning that it has when used in popular speech. In the present case the two should be carefully distinguished. In the popular or theoretical sense, an immigrant is a person of foreign birth who is crossing the country's boundary and entering the United States with intent to remain and become an addition to the population of the country. In this sense of the word an alien arrival is an immigrant whether he comes by water or by land, in the steerage or in the cabin, from contiguous or non-contiguous territory, and whether he pays or does not pay the head tax. The essential element is an addition to the population of the country as a result of travel, and the word thus covers all additions to the population otherwise than by birth. A person can not be an immigrant to the United States more than once any more than a person can be born more than once. It is a characteristic of this meaning that it does not alter."

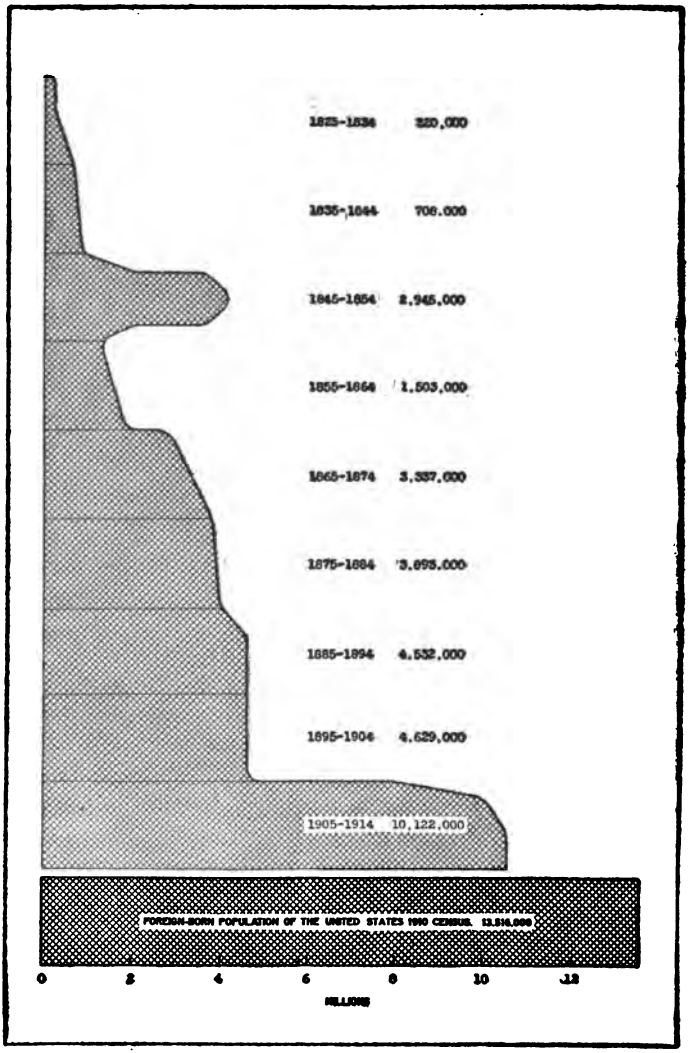
There is also need to call attention to the distinction between the words "immigrant" and "foreign born" as used respectively by the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of the Census. For illustration, included among the foreign-born population as enumerated by the census are citizens here from British North America, in particular from Canada, and from Mexico and Cuba, while, as has been stated, these are not recorded as immigrants by the Bureau of Immigration. The significance of this is indicated

in the fact that in 1910 the census reported among our foreign born more than 1,200,000 from Canada and 220,000 from Mexico. Nor do the statistics of the Bureau of Immigration record as immigrants those arrivals who though born in some foreign country have become naturalized citizens of the United States.

The term "foreign born" is more comprehensive, then, than that of "immigrant" and includes all alien arrivals without distinction as to the different countries from which they reach the United States or the part of the steamship in which they travel, and includes also persons born in some foreign country who have become citizens of the United States.

During the ninety years from 1820 to 1910 there came to this country through immigration from all parts of the world, exclusive of Canada and Mexico, more than twenty-eight million immigrants. At the taking of the census in 1910 there were in the United States less than one-half this number of foreign born, only a little more than thirteen million five hundred thousand, inclusive of those from Canada and Mexico.

Between the taking of the census of population in 1900 and 1910 there was an immigration to the United States of more than 8,500,000 persons born in foreign countries. The estimated return migration for the same ten years was about 3,250,000. Thus there was an excess of immigration over emigration, that is, a net immigration, of about 5,250,000. For the same period the increase in



PERMANENT IMMIGRATION BY TEN-YEAR PERIODS SINCE 1825

our foreign-born population, according to the census figures, was only 3,175,000. Here is a difference of more than two million. This is accounted for by assuming that it represents approximately the number of deaths among the foreign born in this country during the ten years.

Thus, before there can be an increase in our foreign-born population, immigration must first fill the places vacated by emigrations and deaths. Naturally, it takes a much larger volume of immigration today than formerly to give an increase in the number of our foreign-born population because of the more numerous vacancies by death and emigration that must first be filled. In consequence of this tendency it is quite possible for the number of deaths and emigrations to be so great that the time will soon arrive when even a very large volume of immigration will give no increase in our foreign-born population. This is already being illustrated in the immigration from some countries.

There was actually a less number of foreign born in the United States from each of Germany, Ireland, and Wales in 1910 than in 1900, their total decrease amounting to nearly six hundred thousand. This is explained in two ways—by a rapid increase in the number of deaths owing to the increasing period of time this immigration has been settled here, and by a decrease in the number of arrivals from these countries.

This comparison of immigration with the increase or decrease in the foreign born in the

United States shows interesting and striking peculiarities which are not without their value in explaining and interpreting tendencies. On its surface we would expect to find the same quantity of immigration from two different countries for the same period giving about the same increase in the foreign born here from each. But note how varying conditions give strikingly different results.

From 1890 to 1900 we had practically the same number of immigrants coming to the United States from Germany that came from Russia. The total German immigration was 505,152; the total Russian 505,290. But the number of foreign born from Germany in the United States did not increase at all; in fact, it actually decreased—there were 121,476 fewer Germans here in 1900 than in 1890. It was not so in the case of the Russian immigration. Identically the same volume of immigration as that from Germany gave an increase of 303,703 in the foreign born from Russia in 1900 as compared with 1890. Thus we have a striking fact: All of the 505,152 immigrants from Germany between 1890 and 1900 disappeared absolutely from statistical measurement among the foreign born from Germany in the United States; in the case of the immigration from Russia only about two-fifths disappeared.

An explanation of this must be sought in the varying conditions here surrounding the foreign born from the two countries. The immigrants from Germany are of the older group of alien

races, that is, they have been coming to the United States for many more years and until recently in much larger numbers than those from Russia. In consequence, there is a greater number from Germany in the United States than from Russia who are in a more advanced age period. Death thus operates among a much larger number from Germany, who are also older, than among those from Russia who are younger. Naturally, the number from Germany disappearing from statistical measurement each decade is larger. Thus a greater volume of immigration from Germany must come in to fill the places of those dying before there can be an increase as compared with those from Russia. This explains why five hundred thousand immigrants from Germany coming to the United States will not give as large an increase in the foreign born here from that country as the same number of immigrants from Russia gives to the foreign born from Russia.

This situation as regards immigration from Germany in relation to the foreign born here from that country is also true of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and France, and soon will be true also of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, that is, these older immigrant countries must send a constantly increasing number if they are to maintain the quantity.

In general, what has been said of immigration from Russia is also applicable to that from the other countries giving to us the newer nationalities, such as Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Balkan

States, Turkey, and so on. But the same situation which we have seen is now confronting the aliens from the older immigrant countries awaits those from the newer ones—continued immigration will sooner or later reach that point where its volume of inflow will not be sufficient to supply the quantity which death and emigration take away.

This distinction is important. It shows that the point has been reached, temporarily at least, where there is not likely to be any very large additions to our foreign-born population from those countries which heretofore have been giving to us so many of their people. Not that immigrants will not continue to come from these countries, but for the reason that there are so many already in the United States that it requires a very large immigration to fill the places constantly being vacated by death and emigration.

The fact that there was a larger total number of aliens in the United States in 1910 than ten years before, in spite of the decreases from some of the older immigrant countries, is accounted for by an increase from other countries, more particularly Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. The increase in the number of aliens in the United States from these three countries alone amounted in the ten years to almost three million.

This indicates a change in the racial composition of our foreign born. This change is remarkable and began about 1880, since which time increasing immigration of Slavs, Italians, and Hebrews from

southern and eastern European countries has been in marked contrast with a decline in that of the Teutonic races from western Europe, especially so since 1890. Germany alone of the older immigrant countries was not affected in the last census period in the relative position she occupies as a contributor to our foreign-born population, she still holding first place of importance. But Ireland, Canada, and Great Britain all dropped considerably, Ireland from second place in 1900 to fourth place in 1910, Canada from third to eighth, and Great Britain from fourth to seventh. Russia rose from seventh place in 1900 to second place in 1910; Austria-Hungary from sixth to third, and Italy from eighth to fifth.

This difference in time as to the arrival upon our shores of immigration from the separate European countries accounts in part for the interesting fact that those countries which have contributed the larger volume of immigration have today relatively fewer foreign born here. For illustration, Germany's foreign born here in 1910 was only one-half of the total immigration from that country; for Ireland the proportion was a little more than one-third; for England, Scotland, and Wales forty-one per cent.; for Sweden, Norway, and Denmark sixty-three per cent. This indicates the Scandinavian immigration to have been later than that from Germany and Ireland. As to the newer immigrant countries, the foreign born here from Russia today represents sixty-four, from Austria-Hungary fifty-five, and from Italy forty-

five out of every one hundred that have immigrated from each of these countries.

The economic explanation of this is largely to be found in the fact that the immigrants from the western European countries, having come here earlier and being now more advanced in years, are subject in a much greater degree to decreases through death than are the later immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who are younger in years. This tendency is also further explained in the equally important fact that among the newer races immigration is more of a temporary character and, consequently, a larger volume of emigration decreases the foreign born in this country. As between the "newer" and "older" immigration, out of every one hundred immigrants there are today forty-five foreign born here from the western or "older" European countries and fifty-four from the eastern and southern or more recent immigrant countries.

In view of the facts presented, one can prophesy with considerable assurance of certainty that the time is not far distant when the number of foreign born in the United States will cease to increase, not, however, that immigration will decline. So many of them are disappearing each year by death and emigration that it is questionable if their places can be kept filled by immigration. Each decade it requires a larger and ever larger volume of immigration to give even a slight increase in our foreign-born population.

For instance, we had a total immigration from

1851 to 1860 of 2,511,000 [1] and an increase in our foreign born for the same period of 1,928,000; [2] from 1861 to 1870 the immigration amounted to 2,377,000 and the increase in our foreign born to 1,428,000. Now note the comparison from 1871 to 1880. Total immigration was 2,812,000 and this larger volume than for any previous decade gave an increase of only 1,113,000 in our foreign born—the smallest decennial increase the country had witnessed up to that time. The immigration of 8,500,000 for the ten years preceding 1910 gave an increase in our foreign-born population of only 3,175,000. That is, an immigration nearly three and one-half times larger than the volume of that between 1851 and 1860 gave an increase in our foreign-born population of much less than one-half.

Between 1851 and 1860 the increase in our foreign-born population was seventy-seven per cent. of the immigration; ten years later it was sixty per cent.; from 1871 to 1880 forty per cent.; and for the ten years preceding 1910 only thirty-seven per cent. With a large increase in immigration our foreign-born population shows a rapidly declining rate of increase.

[1] Exclusive of Canada and Mexico.

[2] Inclusive of Canada and Mexico.

CHAPTER XIX

WITHIN THE TIDE BASIN—DISTRIBUTION

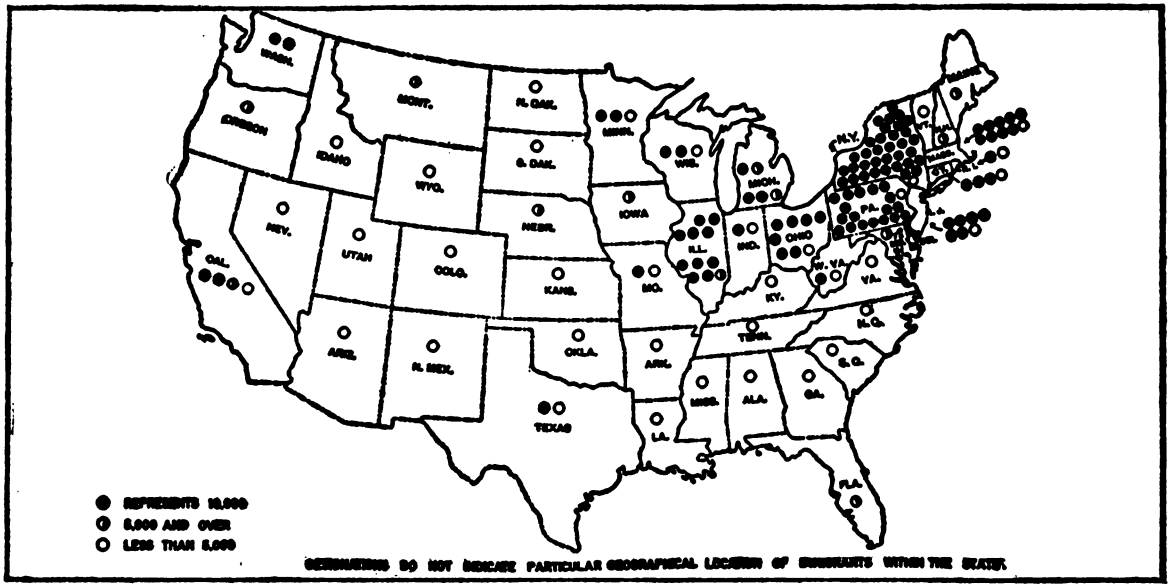
MANY economic undercurrents in the immigration tide after it enters the country, some of which have been indicated in the preceding chapter, must be clearly perceived if we are to understand the factors at work in the geographical distribution of immigrants.

It may so happen, for illustration, that a large immigration is flowing into a state or states whose census returns show no increase, in fact may show an actual decrease, in the number of foreign born. Again, a state showing a larger increase in its foreign-born population than one having no increase, and it may be a decrease, may actually be receiving a smaller volume of immigration. Still further, in those states receiving the earlier immigrants a larger volume of immigration is necessary today in order to maintain the present foreign-born population compared with states where the immigration is of a later period. As has already been shown, the immigration from two countries going into the same state may be exactly the same in quantity and yet the increase in the respective foreign-born groups be widely different.

These and like tendenciesare true because in those states which already contain a large number of foreign born the volume of immigration must be larger to show an increase than that which goes into states having a smaller alien population. This is the consequence of a larger number of deaths and emigrations in the former than in the latter, and these must first be replaced by immigration before the census statistics can record an increase.

As to the tendency in the distribution of the present incoming immigration, the statistics of the Bureau of Immigration which report the intended permanent residence of arriving aliens are a better gauge than the statistics of foreign born of the Bureau of the Census. We shall take the record for 1914 to illustrate this tendency. Of course, this declaration of intention on the part of the immigrant is based upon nothing more definite and reliable than his mere assertion; it is subject to a change of intention on his part after arrival, and also to the fact that many immigrants are "floating" laborers whose destination changes with the opportunity for employment.

Of the permanent arrivals in 1914, according to country of birth as distinguished from race, more than twenty-eight out of every one hundred, or nearly three hundred and fifty thousand, gave New York State as their place of future residence. Pennsylvania came next as the place of destination of fifteen out of every one hundred arriving, or about one hundred and eighty-five thou-



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY STATES, 1914 (According to Reported Intended Destination)
This concentration of immigrants illustrates the geographical distribution of our entire foreign-born population.

sand, and New Jersey as that of five out of every one hundred, or sixty-two thousand. These three adjoining states were the reported destination of five hundred and ninety-two thousand or nearly one-half of the total permanent immigration in 1914. Illinois, Massachusetts, and Ohio were the reported places of future residence of an additional two hundred and seventy-four thousand. These six states account for eight hundred and sixty-six thousand or nearly three-fourths of all immigrant arrivals coming here permanently in that year.

Sixty out of every one hundred immigrants going to New York State in 1914 were Italians, Poles, and Hebrews; to New Jersey these three groups amounted to fifty-three per cent. of the total; to Pennsylvania fifty-one; to each of Illinois and Massachusetts forty-five; and of every one hundred going to Ohio, thirty were Italians, Poles, and Hebrews.

Distributing the peoples according to their declared intention as to place of future residence, out of every one hundred Italians coming here in 1914 thirty-six located in New York, nineteen in Pennsylvania, and eight in New Jersey, a total of sixty-three out of every one hundred presumably going to these three states. Of the Hebrews, fifty-seven out of every one hundred went to New York, ten to Pennsylvania, and four to New Jersey, a total of seventy-one out of every one hundred. Of the Poles, twenty-one went to New York, nineteen to Pennsylvania, and nine to New Jersey,

forty-nine out of every one hundred. Nearly one-third of the Croatians and Slovenians went to Pennsylvania, and an additional fifteen out of every one hundred to Ohio. Of the Magyars, twenty-three out of every one hundred went to Pennsylvania and twenty-two to Ohio. Of the Roumanians, forty out of every one hundred were bound for Ohio and seventeen for Pennsylvania. As much as fifty-five per cent. of the Russians were destined to New York and Pennsylvania. Thirty-five per cent. of the Ruthenians were on their way to Pennsylvania and twenty-nine per cent. to New York. Of the Slovaks, forty-four out of every one hundred were bound for Pennsylvania.

More than four-fifths of our recent immigration, which is most largely from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, is going into the North Atlantic States. Of the total increase of more than three million in our foreign-born population in 1910 over 1900 approximately sixty per cent. went into these North Atlantic industrial and manufacturing states.

Thus the Slav, Hebrew, and Italian is being drawn by the industrial development of the country into manufacturing and mining and is settling in the large industrial centers. These "foreigners," whom we call indifferently "Hunks," "Huns," "Slavs," "Hungarians," "Dagoes," "Jews," are to be found in the textile mills of New England; in the clothing industry of Boston, New York, Philadelphia; in the anthracite mines of northeastern Pennsylvania; in the West Vir-

ginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other bituminous-coal producing states; in the Connellsville coke region; in the steel mills along the Monongahela River and at Bethlehem, Pa.; in the slaughter and meat-packing houses of Chicago and Omaha; in the powder mills in Delaware; in large construction works and in railway tunnel and bridge building; in fact, in virtually every large mine, mill, factory, and industrial plant north of the "Mason and Dixon Line."

This flow of recent immigration into the industrial states is as striking as was that of the earlier immigration into the agricultural sections. This earlier Teutonic and Celtic immigrant came at a time when the United States was dominantly agricultural and was caught up for the most part by the demands of agriculture and distributed upon our farms. Not upon the barren hill farms of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York, however, but upon the fertile lands in the Mississippi Valley. These then offered the greater rewards to the immigrant. He was attracted in particular to the lake and northern Mississippi Valley states by the abundant and cheap Government land. Then it was being referred to as "The Great West." In the thirties Michigan began to be settled at the time the Germans in particular had begun to arrive and when that state was being lauded to the skies in Germany, just as twelve years later everybody talked about Illinois and Indiana, and after another twelve years about Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In the issue of July 13, 1836, of

The Emigrant and Old Countryman, a newspaper for foreigners, is found this statement: "Agriculturists are beginning to get over the prejudices which formerly confined them to the states upon the seaboard. That which but a few years ago was the 'Far West' is now comparatively at home, and we now hear of vast emigration to Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan."

The Receiver of Public Moneys at Fort Wayne, Indiana, stated in July, 1836, that his office would take in $1,500,000 during the year, so large were the receipts from the sales of Government land. The terms of sale were one-fourth at the end of two years, one-fourth at the end of three years, and the remaining one-fourth at the close of the fourth year from the time of entry. The discount allowed reduced the price by prompt payment to $1.64 per acre. The sale price was two dollars per acre for all except "reserves." Under the Preëmption Act of 1841 an alien who filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen as required by the naturalization laws was entitled, as much as a citizen of the United States, to at least one hundred and sixty acres to which the Indian title had been extinguished at the time of settlement.

Virtually all the western states had early recognized the advantage of immigration, and they were not backward in appropriating moneys and establishing agents in Europe to furnish all necessary information to intending emigrants. Statements as to the climate, soil, and general conditions of

the state which might appeal to the emigrant were scattered all over Europe.

According to the Detroit *Free Press,* it was not unusual during the spring for as many as one thousand immigrants to enter that city daily on their way to different parts of the West. Contemporary testimony shows practically every steamboat that could be put into service on the Mississippi was crowded with families on their way to secure a home in that section. "Some idea of the tide of emigration, which is flowing steadily to the westward, may be gathered from the fact that six steamboats left Buffalo in one day lately, bound up the lakes, all of which were literally loaded with passengers. We are informed that some of them were even compelled to leave port before their time, to avoid the pressure of the crowds anxiously awaiting to obtain a passage."[1]

In the early fifties a new element was injected into the settlement of the West and, in particular, of some of the territories. Political development had brought about a situation where both North and South now began to struggle to settle the West, solely from the point of view of preventing or securing the introduction of slavery into the territories soon to become states. This was especially true of Kansas. Out of this contest grew the "Emigrant Aid Company." It was formed to protect emigrants and to "organize emigration to the West and bring it into a system. This duty,

[1] *The Emigrant and Old Countryman,* September 21, 1836.

which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now, in the critical position of the western territories." By it "a free state may be secured to the lasting advantage of the country."[1]

It is one of the graphic incidents of American history to read of the feverish anxiety displayed both in the North and in the South over the settlement of the West about this time. The foreign arrivals in America were numbering about four hundred thousand each year, and roughly about one-half this number of natives and foreigners were migrating to the western states. But with the organization of the Emigrant Aid Company the emigration became much larger. It was a race on the part of the North to prevent by settlement the extension of slavery, and on that of the South to add still other slave territory to that already existing. There is no question but that the grave character of this growing question of slavery affected the settlement of the territories west of Missouri and Iowa and that it influenced the amount of westward emigration.

The European immigrant had been and was being repelled from the Gulf and South Atlantic states by the presence there of slavery and a firmly rooted aristocratic social order. The pictures of slavery in the southern states, which earlier immigrants to the United States drew in let-

[1] From the *Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company*, 1854.

ters to their home friends and in the guide books to immigrants published at the time, necessarily had an influence in deterring the settlement of that section to any large extent by the alien.

Patrick Matthew, in his *Emigration Fields,* contrasted the southern with the northern section as places for labor by the immigrant, concluding that "partly because of the hateful slave system, throwing a shade of degradation and meanness over the occupation of the workingman, and disposing to idleness, ostentation and profligacy," he advised the immigrant to settle elsewhere. Referring to the South, he said that "the slave blight is spread over these delightful regions."

Nearly all the guide books for immigrants published prior to the Civil War called attention to these conditions in the South and advised the immigrant to avoid that section. In *The Settler's New Home* by Sidney Smith, published in 1850, we find such references as this: "From the southern, or slave states, our information is comparatively scanty; and it is a circumstance significant of their inferior attractions that few Europeans settle there. Nevertheless, the institution of slavery may have decided many without reference to other considerations, and the superior commercial advantages of the East, and the agricultural facilities of the West, may have much to do with the avoidance of the South."

Here is a view of conditions in the South by an-

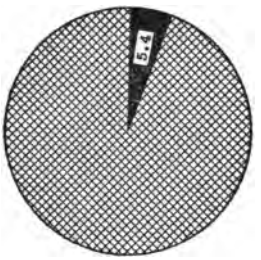
other writer who had considerable influence in determining the distribution of the earlier immigration. It is by Robert Holditch, author of *The Emigrants' Guide*: "Labor on the seaboard in the southern states is performed chiefly by slaves; and slavery there, as everywhere else, has corrupted the public morals. The mulattoes are increasing very rapidly; and, perhaps, in the lapse of years, the black, white, and yellow population will be melted down into one common mass."

The Emigrants' Information Office, established by the British Government about 1884, made it a point to inform inquirers that the southern states of the United States contained a considerable negro population and in consequence did not as a rule offer good openings to the emigrant.

The result of all this was a general movement of population westward into the northwestern states. By way of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee this westward migration had settled Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee; it crossed the Mississippi and Missouri; it settled the whole interior valley. It was made up largely of Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and fewer Irish, English, Scotch, Welsh, Dutch, and Swiss, the immigration of Slavs, Italians, and Hebrews not yet having begun to wash upon our shores.

Thus is indicated a marked difference between the geographical distribution of the earlier immi-

CIRCLE REPRESENTS TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1910



ONLY ABOUT 5 OUT OF EVERY 100 FOREIGN BORN IN THE UNITED STATES ARE IN THE 16 SOUTHERN STATES OF DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, WEST VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA, ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, ARKANSAS, LOUISIANA, OKLAHOMA, TEXAS, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AS INDICATED IN THE BLACK DENOMINATION WITHIN THE CIRCLE.

CIRCLE REPRESENTS IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS, 1914

A SMALLER PROPORTION THAN 5 OUT OF EVERY 100 PERMANENT IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN 1914 REPORTED THESE 16 SOUTHERN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AS THEIR DESTINATION. AND THIS, TOO, NOTWITHSTANDING SERIOUS EFFORTS IN RECENT YEARS TO INDUCE IMMIGRANTS TO SETTLE IN THE SOUTH.

gration and that of the more recent arrivals. From going West and settling upon the land the immigrants have been diverted into the industrial centers of the East, where "foreign" quarters have sprung up into which immigration settles.

This concentration in our large industrial centers and cities is strikingly shown in the statistics of the foreign-born population of the 1910 census. For the entire country while less than half (forty-six per cent.) of our total population is in the cities, almost as much as three-fourths (seventy-two per cent.) of our foreign-born population is so located.

As between the newer and older immigrant peoples, the tendency towards settling in the city is more marked among the Slav, Hebrew, and Italian element. This was true in 1910 of as much as five-sixths of the foreign born from Russia, Roumania, and Turkey in Asia,[1] and of more than three-fourths of those from Italy, Hungary, and Turkey in Europe.[2] Of those residing in cities who reported the year of immigration, nearly forty out of every one hundred had arrived after January 1, 1901. Again, of the 4,529,000 foreign-born whites who reported arrival after that date, as many as 3,515,000—nearly seventy-eight out of every one hundred—resided in cities and only a little more than twenty-two out of every one hundred in rural communities.

[1] Also Ireland.

[2] Also those from Canada of French descent.

New York City, being the port of entry for the greatest number of immigrants, naturally shows this concentration to a more striking degree than any other city. At the taking of the last census it contained as much as one-seventh of all our foreign-born population in contrast with only one-nineteenth of our total population. This one-seventh represented 1,945,000 foreign born, of which more than one-half (fifty-two per cent.) came from Russia, Italy, and Austria, the three combined having a total of more than one million. The amazing growth in the population of our cities has been predominantly in the foreign-born element and their children, while the slight increase of the native population of native parents in cities is hardly observable.

It should be plain that this concentration of the foreign born in our cities, while more conspicuous among the recent immigrant nationalities, does not necessarily indicate a racial characteristic peculiar to them. The tendency is due, not to differences in these peoples as compared with the older immigration, but to the operation of different economic forces at the time of arrival.

Approximately forty out of every one hundred of the inhabitants of New York City were born in some foreign country. For Boston and Chicago this proportion is thirty-six, for Cleveland thirty-five, Detroit thirty-four, Newark thirty-two, and San Francisco thirty-one per cent.

This city concentration of our foreign-born population is fraught with most serious possibilities

in view of the fact that progress in municipal government has not been such as to give patriotic Americans any too great optimism as to the outcome of "The Great Experiment" in self-government.

CHAPTER XX

A CHAPTER FROM HISTORY

VERY early in the legislation of our Federal Congress, as early as 1798, statutes were enacted affecting the alien. The most important of these were the Alien and Sedition laws. Both had for their object the removal of aliens from the United States.

Under the Alien law, the President of the United States was invested with power to send away all such aliens as he judged dangerous to the peace and safety of the country, or had reason to think were hatching treason or laying plots against the Government. Imprisonment for three years and deprivation of the privilege to become a citizen were the punishments provided for any one so ordered to depart who was found at large without a license to remain. Those thus punished were also subject to removal from the country on the order of the President, and if they voluntarily returned they could be reimprisoned for such time as the President thought the public good required. In order that no alien might escape, sea captains were to make reports in writing of the names, ages, and places of birth of all foreigners brought over in their ships.

That early legislation was severe on the foreigner is attested by another law passed in 1798. It amended a naturalization law, lengthening the necessary term of residence to fourteen years and providing that foreigners seeking naturalization must declare their intention five years before the time for obtaining papers. Aliens arriving in the United States after the passage of the act had to be registered. Those who were enemies could never become citizens; even those who were proven to be friends were compelled, before taking the oath of citizenship, to produce certificates of registration in proof of residence in the country for fourteen years. Even more stringent than these laws was another enacted in the same year which gave to the President the right, in case of war declared or invasion threatened, to seize, secure, or send away all resident aliens, whether natives or adopted citizens, of the hostile nation.

When we recall the conditions existing at the time of the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts —a young Republic with a new form of government surrounded by avowed and hostile enemies— perhaps there was some justification for this severe attitude towards foreigners in the country which the Federal Government adopted at the outset. Reference to these early statutes is important in that they were based upon conditions which have given tone and color to much of the opposition that has manifested itself towards the immigrant at different periods in our history.

As early as 1804, for illustration, a proposal in

Connecticut to extend the franchise brought from the Federalists the charge that "Never yet has an extension of the franchise failed to bring with it those triple horrors: Catholics, Irishmen, and Democratic rule." "Give to every man a vote," their newspapers said, "and the ports of Connecticut would be crowded with ships swarming with patriots and rapparees fresh from the bogs of Erin, elections would be decided by the refuse of jails and gibbets, and factious men from Ireland would inflict on Connecticut just such a government as they had already inflicted on Delaware, on Pennsylvania, on New York."[1] In 1807 immigrants were characterized as "the vagabonds and wandering felons of the universe" and "hordes of vulgar Irish scarcely advanced to the threshold of civilization, all the outcast villains, all the excrescences of gouty Europe" who descend upon our shores and through naturalization are outwardly transformed "from aliens to natives—from slaves to citizens."

Dire prophecies as to the submerging of our institutions and the inevitable downfall of the Republic through Catholicism abounded in the newspapers at the time so many Irish Catholics were coming to the United States. In fact, in these earlier days a discussion of immigration was nearly always accompanied by a discussion of Catholicism. Throughout the sections of the country where the Irish settled, anti-Catholic riots were

[1] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 3, p. 192.

not infrequent, even necessitating at times the calling out of troops. In many parts of the country open hostility was displayed toward the Irish laborers on the canals and railroads. In New York City at the spring elections of 1834 complaint was made on the part of the Whigs that gangs of Irishmen "armed with stones and bludgeons drove them from the polls, attacked their committee in its own room, put the Mayor, Sheriff, and posse to flight, and terrorized the city."[1] In Boston, in 1837, a mob attacked and sacked the houses of the Irish, the tumult being such as to necessitate placing the state militia on guard. There were also anti-foreign riots of more or less serious proportions in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other cities. Most of the riots were directed against the Irish, they having settled in much larger numbers in the cities along the eastern seaboard than had the Germans. In Cincinnati, however, where a large number of Germans had located, the rioting was directed against them.

These riots, the often reiterated statement that the immigrants were paupers and criminals and idlers and worthless persons, the antagonism of native workers in various lines of employment, the political attacks by foreign born upon the Government, the widespread political organization of the foreigners and their conspicuous participation in city, state, and national elections, disputes over the use of the Bible in the public schools, the de-

[1] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 6, p. 227.

mands of the Irish Catholics that public support be given to their parochial schools—all these and other tendencies had given rise as early as the thirties to a public sentiment of antagonism towards the immigrant.

This attitude crystallized in the form of opposition to immigration itself. This is reflected in the action of the national House of Representatives in 1838 in instructing its judiciary committee to consider the propriety of passing a law prohibiting the importation into the country of vagabonds and paupers.

Twenty years earlier, in 1819, Congress had enacted a law providing for an enumeration of arriving aliens, this being the first action on record of legislative attention to the subject. But these statistics were far from accurate, Professor McMaster tells us. "From such as could be had," he says, "it appeared that a hundred thousand immigrants were arriving annually (in 1837). Some brought with them a little money; others, wholly destitute of property, were imported to labor on the railroads, canals, and public works; but the mass either spent their all to purchase a passage, or were deported at the charge of some parish to which their support had become a burden, and landed at some seaport without money, without friends and utterly ignorant of the political and social institutions of the society of which they suddenly became a part. Bringing with them all the prejudices of their native land, and while still in character and opinion what they were while a

part of some European society, they were in many states invested with the franchise, and the whole administration of government was subject to change by men just arrived from a land where they possessed no voice in the affairs of state. To such as thought on the matter of immigration, to such as considered the number and character of the newcomers, what they did and where they went after reaching our shores, the time seemed at hand for regulation or restriction."[1]

This antagonistic attitude of a considerable part of the public manifested itself in the political parties of the time in what has come to be called the nativistic movement or "Native Americanism." Its magnitude is hardly conceivable to this generation. Immigration and its effects became an issue of the very first importance and were the cause of one of the most remarkable political movements in American history. Out of it grew controversies which caused the Irish to attach themselves to the Democratic, and the Germans to what is now the Republican, Party.

The Republicans organized numerous "American Republican Associations" and, in general, may be said to have been in favor of some kind of immigration restriction. The Democrats openly and boldly denounced "Native Americanism." Naturally, many of the foreigners joined that party instead of the Whigs. Usually in the elections of that period we find native Americans and

[1] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 6, p. 421.

the Whigs combining at the elections in opposition to the Democrats.

The Native American Association of the United States was formed at a great mass meeting held in Washington in 1837. Among its objects it sought to cherish native American sentiment, to exclude foreign opinions and doctrines "introduced by foreign paupers and European political adventurers," to exclude foreigners from office under the state and Federal Governments, and to procure a repeal of the naturalization law. The association planned the publication of a newspaper to espouse its objects.

This opposition to foreigners holding public office was quite general. As early as 1835 James Monroe was nominated for Congress in New York by the Native Americans on a platform that stated, "elevate no person of foreign birth to any office of honor, trust, or profit in the United States." When the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania was in session an effort was made to secure the adoption of an amendment forbidding foreigners who came to Pennsylvania after July 4, 1841, to hold any public office in that commonwealth.

The steadily increasing number of immigrants and the growing seriousness of the evils to which immigration was giving rise caused numerous memorials to pour into Congress. These reflected the growing opposition towards immigration. One of these memorials asked Congress to inquire "whether there was not a hidden design against the liberties of our country in the great influx of

foreigners; whether the moral and social condition of the newcomers did not augur an increase in pauperism and crime; whether there were not in the country those whose allegiance to a foreign despot and prince required them to uphold his interests against ours; whether there was not a foreign conspiracy against our Republic, and whether plans for its execution had not been formed and put in operation."[1] Another memorial complained of the ease with which foreigners of doubtful morals and hostile political principles acquired the right to vote and pointed to this as a source of real danger to the country. The petitioners saw with great concern the influx of Roman Catholics. To such persons, as men, they had no dislike. To their religion, as a religion, they had no objection. But against their political opinions, interwoven with their religious belief, they asked legislation. They inquired whether their union of church and state, their allegiance to the Pope, did not require legislation.[2]

The strength of the Native American movement had become such by 1844 as to cause the other leading political parties considerable anxiety and not a little concern. Immigration was a prominent issue in the election of that year which made James K. Polk President of the United States over Henry Clay.

---

[1] Executive Document No. 70, Twenty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Vol. 2.

[2] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 7, p. 370.

The Native American Association since its organization in Washington had spread by the formation of like associations elsewhere. It now demanded an amendment to, or repeal of, the naturalization law and a restriction on immigration. Voting and holding office by foreigners were described as twin evils sapping the patriotism of the people. Immigrants were characterized as Europe's "paupers, criminals, convicts, outpourings of the almshouses and her jails. Many who came of their own choice were disgruntled malcontents at home. Greedy of power, ignorant of our customs, caring nothing for our laws, heedless of all civil restraint, they became the spreaders of anarchy, radicalism, and rebellion among our free and happy people."[1]

In the Pierce-Scott Presidential campaign of 1852 Scott was accused of "nativism," and this was a factor in his defeat. Rhodes, the historian, states that "the large Irish and German immigration of the past few years have given the foreign vote an importance never before attached to it, and this is the first Presidential campaign in which we light upon those now familiar efforts to cajole the German and Irish citizens."[2]

The foreign vote in elections has ever since been an element of considerable importance, and hardly a campaign has passed without the public being greatly agitated because of the conspicuous

[1] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 7, p. 369.

[2] Rhodes: *History of the United States.*

presence at the polls of unnaturalized foreigners. That the foreign vote has at times virtually decided the great questions of American policy there can be no question. This is of unusual significance in view of the fact that for nearly twenty years of our history political controversies centered around our system of naturalization laws.

In 1854 the opposition to immigration as manifested in the Native American movement came to be known under the nick-name of the "Know-Nothing Party." Its real official title was the American Party. Americans, and Americans only, should rule America, came to be its fundamental doctrine. The cry of "Native Americanism" now began to be Washington's famous order, "Put None but Americans on Guard Tonight." "The immediate and practical aim in view," says Rhodes, "was that foreigners and Catholics should be excluded from all national, state, county, and municipal offices; that strenuous efforts should be made to change the naturalization laws so that the immigrant could not become a citizen until after a residence of twenty-one years in this country. No one can deny that ignorant foreign suffrage had grown to be an evil of immense proportion."[1]

But all this agitation and opposition proved futile in the direction of restricting the volume of immigration. The great, almost limitless West was still to be settled. This was the fundamental fact underlying virtually every legislative and ex-

[1] Rhodes: *History of the United States,* Vol. 2, p. 512.

ecutive act of the national and state governments in regard to immigration and in consequence these acts were in the direction of its encouragement. The Homestead Act signed by President Lincoln, and like legislation concerning the disposition of the national domain were alike all favorable to attracting the immigrant. One indication of the recognition by Congress of the importance to the country of promoting immigration is the act of July 4, 1864, by which a Bureau of Immigration was created in the Department of State. One of the provisions of this act went so far as to enable the immigrant to pledge his labor as a means of obtaining an advance with which to pay the expenses of his passage. This law was repealed in 1868. Various states also encouraged immigration by the creation of bureaus for its promotion, and a search of the legislative records discloses virtually no restrictive or regulative legislation.

Besides the necessity felt by the people for settling the great western territory as a factor in determining the attitude of the Government towards virtually unregulated immigration, it must not be forgotten that at the time opposition to immigration was becoming strongest there was an even more important subject engrossing the attention of the people and one which loomed much more threateningly on the political horizon, a subject of internal difference that was dividing the American people much more fundamentally, a subject that was to plunge them into bloody, fratri-

cidal strife. In the throes of it the evils of immigration were lost sight of.

During all this period of political agitation prior to the Civil War opposition to immigration was not sufficiently strong to place any restrictive legislation on the statute books. While the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws had settled as early as 1798 the question as to the power of Congress under the Constitution to keep out or prohibit the importation of aliens, immigration was left almost entirely by the Federal Government in the hands of the separate states.

Early legislation in New York relating to the subject was confined to quarantine regulations, to the poor laws, and to municipal ordinances. In 1847 a law was passed requiring all vessels arriving at the port of New York to report to the Commissioners of Emigration the number, last legal residence, age, occupation, and physical and mental condition of alien passengers. A bond of three hundred dollars was required for each passenger, but this bond could be commuted by the payment of $1.50. The law also required a non-commutable bond of five hundred dollars for every lunatic, idiot, deaf, dumb, blind, or infirm passenger likely to become a public charge. Later special provision for bonding was extended to persons above the age of sixty years, to women without husbands but with a child or children, and to all persons unable to take care of themselves without becoming a public charge. With the fund thus established the commissioners were required to in-

demnify the local authorities for any charge incurred for the maintenance and support of immigrants; the fund could also be used to aid in removing immigrants to any part of New York or other states or from the state, or to assist them in procuring employment and thus preventing them from becoming a public charge. By this and later legislation the immigrants received the benefit of the Marine Hospital, immigrant boarding houses and immigrant runners were licensed and regulated, and provision was made for the appointment of advisors for immigrants. The vocation of booking immigrant passengers was also licensed and regulated, the lighters for landing them were licensed and special legislation was made for their benefit as to railroad rates and tickets.

Other states, notably Massachusetts, California, and Louisiana, had also begun to legislate on the subject of immigration. These laws became involved in controversies and the questions in dispute finally reached the United States Supreme Court. In 1875 that tribunal, in the case of Henderson vs. Mayor of New York,[1] declared unconstitutional that legislation of New York State under which the Commissioners of Emigration levied a tax with which to obtain the revenue that enabled them to grant relief and protection to aliens. In 1881 the state endeavored to substitute a head tax of one dollar for the old commutation money, but this also was declared unconstitutional

[1] 92 United States Statutes, 259.

by the United States Supreme Court.[1] Until 1882 the state made an annual appropriation to defray the expenses of the commissioners.

The opinion of the United States Supreme Court was to the effect that the subject of immigration "had been confided to Congress by the Constitution; that Congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other body known to our laws, state or national; that by providing a system of laws in these matters applicable to all ports and to all vessels a serious question which has long been a matter of contest and complaint may be effectively and satisfactorily settled."

From the very moment when this decision of the Supreme Court was handed down the Federal Government embarked upon a national policy of regulating immigration.

[1] In People vs. Compagnie General Trans-Atlantique: 107 United States Statutes, 59.

CHAPTER XXI

REGULATING THE IMMIGRATION TIDE

IMMIGRATION to the United States down to 1875 virtually all came in freely without let or hindrance. We have seen, however, that there existed in the country a strong public opinion in favor of some kind of restriction but it was not strong enough to secure from Congress the enactment into law of measures that would bring this about. In that year, however, the first attempt was made on the part of the national government to undertake the regulation of immigration. The act of March 3, 1875, prohibited the immigration of alien convicts and of women brought in for purposes of prostitution. Seven years later, under date of May 6, 1882, Congress passed, and the President approved, an act "to regulate immigration," by which was suspended for ten years the coming to our shores of Chinese laborers.

To the Chinese had been accorded by the Burlingame treaty of 1868 the right of voluntary immigration to the United States with the privileges allowed to the most favored nation, a concession essential to the free admission of Americans to China. Soon, so many Chinese were pouring into California that this policy was challenged by the

labor element in that state and its politicians were obliged to advocate the exclusion of the Oriental. By the late seventies the presence in California of the Chinese and their successful competition with native workers at a time when serious business and industrial depression was prevalent had forced many men out of work, who saw the Chinese gainfully occupied while they had nothing to do by which to gain their livelihood. The psychology of the worker led him to jump to the conclusion that the cause of this intolerable condition was the immigration of the Chinese. This point was emphasized in the political agitation that followed and which has come to be known historically as "Kearneyism" or the "Sandlot Party."

This working population, it should be remembered, was a miscellaneous crowd of wealth seekers drawn not only from all parts of the United States but also from different quarters of the globe, with no strong middle class supplying a social balance between them and those who had become wealthy through speculative measures and the successful exercise of the gambling instinct. These unemployed formed a mobile and unstable society, with no fixed manners, customs, or ideals. They were easily governed by the passing beliefs of the moment, largely by the psychology of the adventurer. The hard times seriously affected this population; they fanned into a blaze the popular hatred toward the Chinese; they led to the organization of a workingmen's party headed by Denis Kearney, an Irishman. He closed every

one of his speeches with the words "whatever happens, the Chinese must go." This became one of the dominant issues in state politics. Representation which this labor movement secured in the constitutional convention of 1879 caused provisions against Chinese immigration to be inserted in that instrument.

These extremely severe provisions directed against the Chinese made it incumbent upon the legislature to "prescribe all necessary regulations for the protection of the state and the counties, cities, and towns thereof, from the burdens and evils arising from the presence of aliens who are or may become vagrants, paupers, mendicants, criminals or invalids afflicted with contagious or infectious diseases, and from aliens otherwise dangerous or detrimental to the well-being or peace of the state, and to impose conditions upon such persons which may reside in the state, and provide the means and mode of their removal from the state, upon failure and refusal to comply with such conditions."[1]

No corporation was permitted to employ in any capacity any Chinese or Mongolian, nor were any Chinese to be employed on any state, county, municipal, or other public work, except in punishment for crime. The presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States was declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the state, and "the Legislature shall discourage their immigration by all the means within its

[1] Article XIX.

power." Claiming Asiatic coolieism to be "a form of human slavery," it was forever prohibited in that state, and all contracts for coolie labor were declared void, companies or corporations importing such labor being subjected to such penalties as the Legislature might prescribe. The constitution further provided that "the Legislature shall delegate all necessary power to the incorporated cities and towns of this state for the removal of Chinese without the limits of such cities and towns, or for their location within prescribed portions of those limits, and it shall also provide the necessary legislation to prohibit the introduction into this state of Chinese after the adoption of the constitution."

The feeling in California against Chinese immigration was not only a dominant factor in state politics but it was also strong enough to induce the national government to ratify treaties and the Federal Congress to pass acts which forbade this immigration. By 1880 the Federal Government had negotiated a new treaty with China in which was stipulated the right of the United States to regulate, limit, or suspend, but not to prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers. Pressure was next brought to bear sufficient to secure the passage by Congress of the restriction law of 1882 prohibiting for a period of ten years the admission of Chinese laborers, skilled and unskilled, and those engaged in mining.

Ever since the passage of this act the national government has been building a policy of regula-

tion based upon selection and resulting in restriction and exclusion. That this is true is indicated by a mere enumeration of the titles to the acts passed by Congress in regard to the subject.

Following the act of May 6, 1882, came that of August 3 of the same year, which prohibited the immigration of "any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge." In 1885 was prohibited "the importation and immigration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States," popularly known as the "Alien Contract Labor Law." The act of 1891 amending "the various acts relative to immigration and the importation of aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor," known as the "Geary Act," among other things extended for another ten years the policy of Chinese exclusion and required the Chinese already in the country to register and to submit to the Bertillon system as a means of identification. The act of February 15, 1893, granted additional quarantine powers and imposed additional duties upon the Public Health Service. "To facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract-labor laws" was the title of the act of March 3, 1893. In 1902 the act "to prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States" of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent made permanent the two previous ten-year suspensions of the immigration of Chinese laborers. The act of 1907 was entitled "to regulate

the immigration of aliens into the United States."

These separate enactments by the national legislature at different times, extending over a period of more than forty years, had gradually increased the selective measures until by 1907 there were as many as sixteen classes of aliens who were being denied admittance to the United States. To these the law of 1907 added other classes, including imbeciles, feeble-minded, epileptics, those afflicted with non-contagious tuberculosis, professional beggars, aliens defective mentally or physically to the extent of probably affecting their ability to earn a living, assisted aliens, children under sixteen years of age unaccompanied by parent, and aliens supported by the proceeds of prostitution.

It should be plain that while we have continued since 1875 to admit aliens from all countries except China we have at the same time reversed the earlier policy of unregulated and indiscriminate immigration and now insist upon the principle of selection, at least to the extent that immigrants shall be sound of body, sound of mind, and sound in morals. In other words, we have enunciated as our national policy the right to the exercise of selection on our part as to which ones of all those coming here we shall admit. We have carried this principle so far in the case of the Chinese as to exclude them almost entirely.

Nor is this all. Public antagonism to Japanese immigration, particularly on the Pacific Coast, has resulted in negotiations between the Japanese

and the United States Governments by which Japanese immigration has virtually been stopped. Under our laws foreign-born Chinese and Japanese have been made ineligible to citizenship.

Even more than this is true. So much faster than the machinery of government has public opinion moved in this direction that on three separate occasions in recent years Congress has come quite near adopting, by as large a vote as two-thirds of the members of each branch, a much more far-reaching restrictive measure than any so far recorded. This has come to be known as the "literacy" or "educational test," also called by some the "illiteracy test." It requires the alien entering the country to be able to read, or read and write, in some language or dialect.

It was to prevent the adoption by Congress of such a test that the "liberal" immigrationists had recourse in 1907 to the device of a commission to investigate immigration as it was affecting American social, industrial, and economic conditions. This commission, consisting of three Senators, three Representatives, and three publicists, was appointed in that year by President Roosevelt. It made its report to Congress on December 5, 1910.

In its report the commission suggested a number of methods for further restricting immigration. Among these were:

(1) The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language. (2) The reduction of the number of each race

arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years. (3) The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families. (4) The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port. (5) Material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival. (6) Material increase of the head tax. (7) The levying of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

"All these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restriction in greater or less degree," says the report. A majority of the commission—all but one member—favored the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.

Such a test had been before Congress as early as 1896, when both the Senate and House passed upon it favorably. The bill, however, was vetoed by President Cleveland. The House passed the bill over the President's veto, but in the Senate it failed by a few votes. In 1898 the Senate again passed a bill providing for the literacy test, but it was crowded out of consideration by the House because of the Spanish-American War. In 1902 the House, and in 1906 the Senate, passed a similar bill. In 1913 the Senate and House both passed a bill containing the literacy test as recommended by the Immigration Commission. This bill was vetoed by President Taft. It was passed by the Senate over the President's veto, but failed of a two-thirds majority in the

House by only five votes. In 1914-15 both the House and Senate again passed the immigration bill with the literacy-test provision. This bill President Wilson vetoed. It failed of passage over the veto in the House by only four votes less than the required two-thirds.

These activities of Congress simply reflect a powerful public opinion in favor of the further restriction of immigration. This opinion has become so strong that both national political parties have had to take cognizance of it in their platforms. That of the Republican Party in 1896 in direct and specific terms, without equivocation or evasion, indorsed the literacy test as follows: "For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write." The Democratic Party platform of that year indorsed the principle of restriction. It declared: "We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market."

Mr. McKinley was elected President in that year, and in his Inaugural Address he declared himself in favor of the application of an educational test. His successor, Mr. Roosevelt, in his first message to Congress in December, 1901, dealing with the specific proposition of a literacy

test, said: "The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful, and not merely perfunctory, educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens." Mr. Roosevelt reiterated his recommendation in his message to Congress in December, 1902.

The platform upon which President Taft was a candidate for reëlection in 1912 carried this plank: "We pledge the Republican Party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States."

Back of these party platforms stands the public opinion responsible for their utterances. This is represented primarily in the belief of members of organized labor, of farmers' associations, of patriotic societies, of the Immigration Restriction League, and of influential individuals.

Organized labor in this country has for years been in favor of the restriction of immigration. One of the numerous resolutions passed on this subject by the American Federation of Labor is to the effect that "the illiteracy test is the most practical means for restricting the present stimulated influx of cheap labor, whose competition is so ruinous to the workers already here, whether native or foreign." This resolution was adopted by the twenty-ninth annual convention of the Federation in 1909. In addition to demanding the enactment into law of the literacy test, this

convention also endorsed the money test, an increase in the head tax, and the abolition of the distribution bureau in the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Government. The convention also favored "heavily fining the foreign steamships for bringing debarrable aliens where reasons for debarment could have been ascertained at time of sale of ticket."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen also favor "the enactment of the literacy test, an increased head tax, a money requirement, and such other measures as will materially lessen the present enormous artificially stimulated immigration of cheap labor." The Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers of America, in fact, virtually every important labor union in the country is in favor of immigration restriction.

The farmers of the country, as organized in the Farmers' National Congress, the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, the National Grange, and like associations have frequently expressed their views to Congress as favoring the further restriction of immigration. For illustration, the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, representing more than three million members and about thirty states, and claiming to be the largest body of organized farmers in the world, "is unalterably opposed to the present foreign influx from southeastern Europe and west-

ern Asia and to its proposed distribution and diversion to the South and West." In local, state, and national conventions its members have resolved in favor of the enactment and vigorous enforcement of rigidly restrictive immigration laws. They favor an increased head tax, a money test, the illiteracy test, and other effective measures, and have instructed their national legislative committee to do all it possibly can to secure legislation along these lines.

As to the patriotic societies favoring the restriction of immigration, the most vigorous and active before Congress has been the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. The policy of this organization is expressed in the resolutions adopted by the New York State Council in its annual convention in 1909. These endorsed the efforts of ex-Commissioner Williams at Ellis Island in properly enforcing the law, requested the abolition of the division of information and distribution of the Federal Government, and denounced the majority report of the New York State Immigration Commission. They urged upon Congress "the immediate enactment of legislation increasing the steamship head tax; requiring the possession of visible means of support; providing for the deportation of alien paupers, insane, and criminals; excluding alien adults unable to read or write in some European language or dialect, as is required in South Africa, Australia, and other civilized countries; fining the steamships for bringing to this country excludable aliens where the ground

for exclusion could have been ascertained by a medical examiner or other competent investigation at the time of embarkation, and such other restrictive measures as would tend to prevent the United States from continuing to be the only country with a considerable net foreign immigration, and in truth the world's dumping ground."

Seventeen states, including Tennessee, Washington, Oregon, California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, have memorialized Congress at various times to enact a literacy test and other needed restrictive legislation.

Resolutions and memorials innumerable from agricultural, commercial, labor, educational, charitable, patriotic, and like organizations favoring immigration restriction have been presented to Congress the past several decades. Senator Simmons of North Carolina in discussing the question in the Senate said that he did not think there has ever been presented to the Congress a more formidable array of petitions in favor of any specific legislative proposition than those which have come to Congress in support of the literacy test.

"At the time the Senate passed this amendment in 1906," he says, "I remember distinctly there was then on file in the archives of Congress between forty-five and fifty thousand petitions in favor of this particular legislation. I am told that that number of petitions has almost doubled by this time. The *Congressional Record* shows that over fifteen hundred came in one year ago last February, when the House committee re-

ported an illiteracy-test bill. There must be in the files and in the archives of Congress at this time between seventy-five thousand and eighty thousand petitions in favor of this proposition."[1]

Naturally there has developed also a strong public opinion opposed to a national policy looking to a further restriction of immigration. These "liberal" immigrationists include foreign born already in the United States, organized in innumerable societies and associations, such as the Order of the Sons of Italy, the Federation of Italian Societies, the Slovak Guards, the National Polish Alliance, the United Polish Societies, the Polish-American Catholic Union, the Polish-American Citizens' League, the Independent Order of B'rith Abraham, the Hebrew Sheltering Immigrant Aid Society, the American Jewish Committee, the German-American Alliance, the Tammany Society, the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, and so on interminably. These are supported in their attitude by the steamship companies, manufacturers and other large employers of labor, ticket agents, immigrant bankers, employment agencies, officials of the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches in America, members of the Socialist Party, philanthropic and charitable and immigrant aid societies and social settlements, the Liberal Immigration League, and so on.

[1] *Congressional Record*, March 18, 1912, p. 2.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LITERACY TEST

THE literacy test in the bill vetoed by President Cleveland provided that the immigrant should be able both to read and write. In the bills vetoed by Presidents Taft and Wilson "all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish," were to be excluded. For the purpose of ascertaining the qualification of the immigrant, the bills vetoed by Presidents Taft and Wilson provided that slips of paper of uniform size be furnished the immigrant, each slip containing not less than thirty or more than fifty words in ordinary use and printed in plainly legible type in the various languages and dialects of immigrants. Each alien could designate the particular language or dialect in which he desired to be examined and was then to be required to read the words printed on the slip.

Any alien arriving or already admitted or any citizen of the United States would be allowed to bring in "his father or grandfather over fifty-five years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter,

if otherwise admissible, whether such relatives could read or not."

Exemption from the operation of this literacy test also applied to all aliens seeking admission solely for the purpose of escaping religious persecution; those convicted of an offense purely political and not including moral turpitude; those in transit through the United States who later shall go in transit from one part of the country to another through foreign contiguous territory; those who were skilled laborers, otherwise admissible, if there was no like kind unemployed in the country and excluding professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of religion, professors, members of any recognized learned profession, and persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants, and so on.

Provision was also made for the exclusion of escaped seamen and stowaways, and for all persons ineligible for naturalization unless otherwise provided for by treaties, conventions, or passport arrangements. The vetoed bill strengthened the existing law excluding criminals, the insane, and those suffering from tuberculosis, and extended the statutory provision against the importation of contract laborers. It also increased from four to five dollars the head tax on immigrants entering the country, and made provision for the better care of immigrants in the steerage of steamships.

This bill was based upon the report of the Immigration Commission appointed by President

Roosevelt, which spent nearly four years and about eight hundred thousand dollars in a thorough investigation of the subject. Its report is published in some forty volumes. The commission was unanimous in reporting upon the necessity of restriction "as demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations," and all of its nine members, but one, recommended the imposition of the reading and writing test "as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration." This recommendation was based upon the belief that it would exclude from one-third to one-half of those particular classes which supply the larger volume of our recent immigration. The bill also represented the best judgment of the commissioners of immigration at the various ports of entry, of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and of that department of the national government having in charge the administration of the immigration laws of the United States.

Of all the speeches in the House and Senate in the debates upon the literacy test, that of Hon. Elihu Root, Senator from New York State and formerly Secretary of State and of War, stands out as among the ablest.[1] It is one of the most clear-cut and incisive in the directness with which it goes to the fundamentals of immigration restriction. The entire speech cannot be quoted, but extracts present his point of view.

Mr. Root stated as his belief that:

[1] Delivered from the floor of the Senate, April 18, 1912.

The time has come when it will be for the benefit of the people of the United States, including all the millions of immigrants who have come into this country in recent years, to put into our immigration law a clause which will require the immigrants who are admitted here to pass the test of ability to read and write. The question is not whether this test will still leave it possible for some people to come in who ought to come in, or whether it will keep out certain people whom it would be well to keep out, but whether such a test will be beneficial to the people of the United States.

It seems clear to me that it will be beneficial as a whole. I think there is a general and well founded feeling that we have been taking in immigrants from the Old World in recent years rather more rapidly than we have been assimilating them. They have been coming in rather more rapidly than they have been acquiring American habits of thought and the American spirit of government.

The specific reason why I think this educational qualification will, as a whole, be a great advantage is that it will especially affect a very large immigration from southeastern Europe, which has in recent years furnished this unassimilated element, this element which it is difficult for us to assimilate, and which when it gets here is cut off from the general sentiment and opinion of the country.

It is manifest that the imposition of the literacy test will bar practically one-half of this class of immigration. It will bar that part which by and large is the least intelligent, the least capable of being manufactured into good American citizens, and the most dangerous as a new and unassimilated element in our body politic. That consideration, it seems to me, should be controlling in favor of the inclusion of this literacy test.

In determining whether it is desirable for us to impose this test, Senator Root stated that an important consideration is the fact that "the coming of great numbers of these people who are

wholly illiterate and who have to take, of course, the lowest rate of wages, whose minds are not open to the ordinary opportunities for bettering their condition, does tend to break down the American standard of wages, and to compel American workmen, whether they be born here or be a part of the nine million who have come in since the War with Spain, to compete with a standard of wages and a standard of living that they ought not to be required to compete with. He expressed his opinion as follows:

Now, that is the reason why within a comparatively recent time, the workingmen of the country who formerly were moved by sympathy with the friends they had left behind them on the other side of the ocean have come to feel that it is essential that something be done, so that this bringing in and planting on our soil of the pauper labor of Europe may be checked, and why they are asking for this legislation.

I do not see how any one upon either side of this Chamber can square his conduct with his profession of a desire to promote the welfare, to improve the conditions, to contribute to the happiness of men who work with their hands in this country and refuse to check this influx of ignorant labor to compete with our workingmen and reduce them to a standard of living below that which they have at present.

I do not blame a business man who has work of construction, or mining, or manufacturing on hand for trying to get ample labor, and to get it at as low wages as he can consistently with common humanity and fairness. I do not mean to say that a man who has a coal mine should not be regarded as at liberty to employ labor and to desire that there should be plentiful labor for him to employ. But I do say that the interests of owners of mines and manufactories and contracting organizations should yield to the interests of the people as a whole, and the interests of the people as a whole

must prevent the further dilution of our labor by this muddy stream.

The racial groups making up our immigration to which Mr. Root refers as being most largely affected by the application of the literacy test are characterized as follows by Mr. Woodrow Wilson when he was professor in Princeton University:

The census of 1890 showed the population of the country increased to 62,622,250, an addition of 12,466,467 within the decade. Immigrants poured steadily in as before, but with an alteration of stock which students of affairs marked with uneasiness. Throughout the century men of the sturdy stocks of the north of Europe had made up the main strain of foreign blood which was every year added to the vital working force of this country or else men of the Latin-Gallic stocks of France and northern Italy, but now there came multitudes of men of the lower class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland—men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence—and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population, the men whose standards of life and of work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto.

The people of the Pacific coast had clamored these many years against the admission of immigrants out of China, and in May, 1892, got at least what they wanted—a Federal statute which practically excluded from the United States all Chinese who had not already acquired the right of residence; and yet the Chinese were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports.[1]

It is these men "whose standards of life and

[1] Wilson: *History of the American People*, Vol. 5, p. 212.

work" are "such as American workmen" have never "dreamed of" that would be most largely affected by the application of the literacy test. More than thirty-five per cent. of the aliens of this newer immigration, coming largely from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, are unable to read or write. The proportion varies between twenty and sixty-eight per cent. for the different countries of southeastern Europe. As to the arrivals from the older immigrant countries, such as England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, they would be only slightly affected by the literacy test, not more than three per cent. of those now coming from these countries being illiterate.

Some indication of the extent of illiteracy among the different immigrant groups can be had from an examination of the immigration for 1914. The same test for determining illiteracy was not then applied at the ports of entry as was provided for in the proposed bill, the arriving alien merely being asked whether he could read and write and his reply was accepted as representing the facts without any further test. On this basis it is found that illiteracy among the total number of arrivals of each race ranged all the way from sixty-four per cent. for the Turkish to less than one per cent. for the English, the Scotch, the Welsh, the Scandinavian, and the Finnish. The Bohemian and Moravian, the German, and the Irish each had less than five per cent. illiterate. Races other than the Turkish, whose immigration

in 1914 was more than one-third illiterate, include the Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians; Russians, Ruthenians, Italians,[1] Lithuanians, and Roumanians.

It is not primarily because of the "alteration of stock" in our immigration that the literacy test is advocated. It is not because of the coming of "men of the lower class" and of "men of the meaner sort"; not because of the arrival of the "more sordid and hapless"; not even because of the coming of "the coarse crew" and of men with "neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence"—it is not because of these that immigration restriction in this form is deemed advisable. But this test is advocated because of the "multitudes of men," and of the "numbers which increased from year to year" of "men whose standards of life and of work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto," that "poured steadily in" and "came crowding in every year."

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has presented this view quite clearly. He says:

> The American-born wage earners and the foreign wage earners who have been here long enough to aspire to American standards are subject to the ruinous competition of an unending stream of men freshly arriving from foreign lands who are accustomed to so low a grade of living that they can underbid the wage earners established in this country and

[1] Distinguishing the immigration from northern and southern Italy, illiteracy is considerably less in the case of the former.

still save money. Whole communities, in fact whole regions, have witnessed a rapid deterioration in the mode of living of their working classes consequent on the incoming of the swarms of lifelong poverty-stricken aliens. Entire industries have seen the percentage of newly arrived laborers rising, until in certain regions few American men can at present be found among the unskilled.

On behalf of American labor it is to be said that the action of the trade unions in this country on this most delicate international question involves a step that touches the heart of every man contemplating it. That step, the advocacy of exclusion, is not prompted by any assumption of superior virtue over our foreign brothers. We disavow for American organized labor the holding of any vulgar or unworthy prejudices against the foreigner. We recognize the noble possibilities in the poorest of the children of the earth who come to us from European lands. We know that their civilization is sufficiently near our own to bring their descendants in one generation up to the general level of the best American citizenship. It is not on account of their assumed inferiority, or through any pusillanimous contempt for their abject poverty, that, most reluctantly, the lines have been drawn by America's workingmen against the indiscriminate admission of aliens to this country. It is simply a case of the self-preservation of the American working classes.[1]

The literacy test is directed primarily against the volume or quantity of immigration. "The situation in the United States produced by immigration heretofore comparatively unrestricted," says the 1912 annual report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, "demands that some method be adopted by which the influx of foreigners so unduly large as to be unhealthful may be so extensively reduced in actual numbers as mate-

[1] *The American Federationist*, January, 1911.

rially to affect the existing purely economic phase of the proposition. It seems to have been shown quite clearly that this result would be accomplished by the illiteracy test. Of course, it is true that this is not the ideal method of sifting immigrants so as to exclude none except altogether undesirable and admit none except altogether desirable aliens; that must be accomplished, if at all, by such tests as can be devised to apply to their moral, mental, and physical qualifications. But undoubtedly the illiteracy test would accomplish the immediately important purpose of materially reducing the volume of a generally undesirable character."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE THREE VETOES

THREE times in our history the exercise of the Presidential veto has prevented the enactment by Congress of legislation that would restrict immigration by the application of the literacy test. These vetoes were by Presidents Cleveland in 1897, Taft in 1913, and Wilson in 1915. On each occasion a large majority of the members in the Senate as well as in the House voted in favor of the literacy test, but each time this majority lacked only a few votes of the two-thirds necessary to pass the measure over the veto, and in consequence it failed to become a law.

President Cleveland's veto message of March 2, 1897, is as follows:

I hereby return without approval House bill No. 7864, entitled "An act to amend the immigration laws of the United States."

By the first section of this bill it is proposed to amend section 1 of the act of March 3, 1891, relating to immigration by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States the following: "All persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age who can not read and write the English language or some other language. . . ."

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigrants is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy can not fail to rouse a sentiment in its defense, for however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

It is not claimed, I believe, that the time has come for the further restriction of immigration on the ground that an excess of population overcrowds our land.

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

A careful examination of this bill has convinced me that for the reasons given and others not specifically stated its provisions are unnecessarily harsh and oppressive, and that its defects in construction would cause vexation and its operation would result in harm to our citizens.

President Taft's message vetoing the Dilling-

ham-Burnett immigration bill, transmitted to Congress February 14, 1913, is brief and reads as follows:

I return herewith, without my approval, S. 3175.

I do this with great reluctance. The bill contains many valuable amendments to the present immigration law which will insure greater certainty in excluding undesirable immigrants.

The bill received strong support in both Houses and was recommended by an able commission after an extended investigation and carefully drawn conclusions.

But I can not make up my mind to sign a bill which in its chief provision violates a principle that ought, in my opinion, to be upheld in dealing with our immigration. I refer to the literacy test. For the reasons stated in Secretary Nagel's letter to me, I can not approve that test. The Secretary's letter accompanies this.

The letter of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor summarized five criticisms of the bill, but these were "of incidental importance only and furnished no sufficient reason for disapproving this bill." Continuing, Secretary Nagel's letter says:

With respect to the literacy test, I feel compelled to state a different conclusion. In my opinion, this is a provision of controlling importance, not only because of the immediate effect which it may have upon immigration and the embarrassment and cost it may impose upon the service, but because it involves a principle of far-reaching consequence with respect to which your attitude will be regarded with profound interest.

The provision as it now appears will require careful reading. In some measure the group system is adopted—that is,

one qualified immigrant may bring in certain members of his family—but the effect seems to be that a qualified alien may bring in members of his family who may themselves be disqualified, whereas a disqualified member would exclude all dependent members of his family no matter how well qualified they might otherwise be. In other words, a father who can read a dialect might bring in an entire family of absolutely illiterate people, barring his sons over sixteen years of age, whereas a father who can not read a dialect would bring about the exclusion of his entire family, although every one of them can read and write.

Furthermore, the distinction in favor of the female members of the family as against the male members does not seem to me to rest upon sound reason. Sentimentally, of course, it appeals, but industrially considered it does not appear to me that the distinction is sound. Furthermore, there is no provision for the admission of aliens who have been domiciled here, and who have simply gone abroad for a visit. The test would absolutely exclude them upon return.

In the administration of this law very considerable embarrassment will be experienced. This at least is the judgment of members of the immigration force upon whose recommendations I rely. Delay will necessarily ensue at all ports, but on the borders of Canada and Mexico that delay will almost necessarily result in great friction and constant complaint. Furthermore, the force will have to be very considerably increased, and the appropriation will probably be in excess of present sums expended by as much as a million dollars. The force of interpreters will have to be in a position to have an interpreter for any kind of language or dialect of the world at any port at any time. Finally, the interpreters will necessarily be foreigners, and with respect to only a very few of the languages or dialects will it be possible for the officials in charge to exercise anything like supervision.

Apart from these considerations, I am of the opinion that this provision can not be defended upon its merits. It was originally urged as a selective test. For some time recommendations in its support upon that ground have been brought

to our attention. The matter has been considered from that point of view, and I became completely satisfied that upon that ground the test could not be sustained. The older argument is now abandoned, and in the later conferences, at least, the ground is taken that the provision is to be defended as a practical measure to exclude a large proportion of undesirable immigrants from certain countries. The measure proposes to reach its result by indirection, and is defended purely upon the ground of practical policy, the final purpose being to reduce the quantity of cheap labor in this country. I can not accept this argument. No doubt the law would exclude a considerable percentage of immigration from southern Italy, among the Poles, the Mexicans, and the Greeks. This exclusion would embrace probably in large part undesirable but also a great many desirable people, and the embarrassment, expense, and distress to those who seek to enter would be out of all proportion to any good that can possibly be promised for this measure.

My observation leans me to the conclusion that, so far as the merits of the individual immigrant are concerned, the test is altogether overestimated. The people who come from the countries named are frequently illiterate because opportunities have been denied them. The oppression with which these people have to contend in modern times is not religious, but it consists of a denial of the opportunity to acquire reading and writing. Frequently the attempt to learn to read and write the language of the particular people is discouraged by the Government and these immigrants in coming to our shores are really striving to free themselves from the conditions under which they have been compelled to live.

So far as the industrial conditions are concerned, I think the question has been superficially considered. We need labor in this country, and the natives are unwilling to do the work which the aliens come over to do. It is perfectly true that in a few cities and localities there are congested conditions. It is equally true that in very much larger areas we are practically without help. In my judgment, no sufficiently earnest and intelligent effort has been made to bring our wants

and our supply together, and so far the same forces that give the chief support to this provision of the new bill have stubbornly resisted any effort looking to an intelligent distribution of new immigration to meet the needs of our vast country. In my judgment, no such drastic measure based upon a ground which is untrue and urged for a reason which we are unwilling to assert should be adopted until we have at least exhausted the possibilities of a rational distribution of these new forces.

Furthermore, there is a misapprehension as to the character of the people who come over here to remain. It is true that in certain localities newly arrived aliens live under deplorable conditions. Just as much may be said of certain localities that have been inhabited for a hundred years by natives of this country. These are not the general conditions, but they are the exceptions. It is true that a very considerable portion of immigrants do not come to remain, but return after they have acquired some means, or because they find themselves unable to cope with the conditions of a new and aggressive country. Those who return for the latter reason relieve us of their own volition of a burden. Those who return after they have acquired some means certainly must be admitted to have left with us a consideration for the advantage which they have enjoyed. A careful examination of the character of the people who come to stay and of the employment in which a large part of the new immigration is engaged will, in my judgment, dispel the apprehension which many of our people entertain. The census will disclose that with rapid strides the foreign-born citizen is acquiring the farm lands of this country. Even if the foreign born alone is considered, the percentage of his ownership is assuming a proportion that ought to attract the attention of the native citizens. If the second generation is included it is safe to say that in the Middle West and West a majority of the farms are today owned by foreign-born people or they are descendants of the first generation. This does not embrace only the Germans and the Scandinavians, but is true in large measure, for illustration, of the Bohemians and the Poles. It is true in sur-

prising measure of the Italians; not only of the northern Italians, but of the southern.

Again, an examination of the aliens who come to stay is of great significance. During the last fiscal year 838,172 aliens came to our shores, although the net immigration of the year was only a trifle above 400,000. But, while we received of skilled labor 127,016, and only 35,898 returned; we received servants 116,529, and only 13,449 returned; we received farm laborers 184,154, and only 3,978 returned; it appears that laborers came in the number of 135,726, while 209,279 returned. These figures ought to demonstrate that we get substantially what we most need, and what we can not ourselves supply, and that we get rid of what we least need and what seems to furnish, in the minds of many, the chief justification for the bill now under discussion.

The census returns show conclusively that the importance of illiteracy among aliens is overestimated, and that these people are prompt after their arrival to avail of the opportunities which this country affords. While, according to the reports of the Bureau of Immigration, about twenty-five per cent. of the incoming aliens are illiterate, the census shows that among the foreign-born people of such states as New York and Massachusetts where most of the congestion complained of has taken place, the proportion of illiteracy represents only about thirteen per cent.

I am persuaded that this provision of the bill is in principle of very great consequence, and that it is based upon a fallacy in undertaking to apply a test which is not calculated to reach the truth and to find relief from a danger which really does not permit of compromise, and, much as I regret it, because the other provisions of the measure are in most respects excellent and in no respect really objectionable, I am forced to advise that you do not approve this bill.

President Wilson's message of January 28, 1915, vetoing the immigration bill, is as follows:

It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by

clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "an act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States") without my signature.

Not only do I feel it to be a serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of a majority of both houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable.

Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent.

In two particulars of vital consequence, this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purpose, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these adopted earlier in our history as a nation would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils.

The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Ameri-

cans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our "shores without test of quality or purpose." It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and to impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek—the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it, that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this

policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion on this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of Americans better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instructions direct from those whose fortunes, with ours, and all men's are involved.

CHAPTER XXIV

AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL POLICY

THERE are statements in the three Presidential vetoes of bills embodying the literacy test that are deserving of serious consideration. And these statements should be so considered not because they are objections to the adoption of the literacy test, nor even for the purpose of supporting a preconceived opinion or assisting in an argument on the subject, but solely in order that we might secure a proper focus on the facts of the situation.

One of the objections is based upon the assumption that the adoption of such a test would be contrary to our traditional policy and to the spirit of our institutions. President Cleveland says the literacy provision is "a radical departure from our national policy relating to immigrants." President Wilson says the literacy-test provision "embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country."

A great deal of cant and hypocrisy is being preached at the present day as to the motives that lie back of the attitude of the American Government and American people towards immigration

of the past. "A political asylum," "a haven of refuge," "a welcome to the oppressed," "a home for the persecuted"—these and like phrases are all fine, high-sounding expressions and we believe in them as did our forefathers. But the fact is, they express a secondary and not the primary cause underlying the action of our people and Government towards the alien.

¶ This primary basis has always been, from the earliest Alien and Sedition laws down to this very moment, what might be called selfish altruism. We have welcomed the immigrant, not because he was an alien, not because he was escaping religious or political persecution, not because he was down-trodden and oppressed, but primarily and essentially because we believed his coming here was for our own good as a people and as a nation. We have welcomed him only so long as, and no longer than, we believed this. When we have been made to realize that his arrival was dangerous and fraught with injury to us we have prevented his coming. As President Cleveland says in his veto message, we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those who "threatened danger to our national welfare and safety," and, as President Wilson says, we have kept our gates open to all who were not believed to be "a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life." Only when we believed there was no "injury to our political and social fabric" did we encourage and keep our gates open to "those coming from

foreign countries." Whenever "the zealous watchfulness of our people" has discerned, "while guarding the people's interests," such threatened danger or injury or menace, we have restricted immigration.

So it is now. This very same "zealous watchfulness" today believes that in the large volume of immigration lies "threatened danger to our national welfare and safety," "a menace to our peace and order," and "injury to our political and social fabric." We rely upon this "zealous watchfulness" today as we have in the past. Are we to abandon a policy based upon "the people's interests" for a policy based upon sympathy for "the immigrant's interests"?

President Wilson believes the literacy test embodies a radical departure from the traditional policy of the country because "it seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men."

If this is true, then it is equally true that the Chinese are not among "those who could find nowhere else" such right and opportunity, for our gates have not only not always been open to them but have actually been completely closed legally, not "all but closed," ever since 1882. These very same "gates of asylum" are also completely closed to nearly a score of different classes of immigrants, such as those who are diseased, those

likely to become a public charge, those unable to pay the head tax, the pauper, the polygamist, the contract laborer, and the induced or solicited or assisted immigrant, and this, too, regardless of the fact that these can find nowhere else "the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men." It is not morally wrong for a man in Europe to contract with an employer here for the sale of his labor and such a man may be a seeker after religious and political liberty in the truest sense of these terms; and yet in their "zealous watchfulness" the American people, in "guarding the people's interests" against "threatened danger" to their "national welfare and safety," against "injury to" their "political and social fabric," and against "a menace to our peace and order," have decreed to prohibit the coming here of such an alien.

The same line of reasoning is also applicable to the contention that the literacy test "excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity." This is the second of the "two particulars of vital consequence" in which it is contended by President Wilson that the literacy-test provision is a "radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country."

This contention assumes that the immigrants of today come seeking "opportunities of elemen-

tary education." While this no doubt is true of some, it is not true of by far the larger number, and, in particular, of virtually all our temporary immigration which the literacy test aims to exclude. At the same time, this very same consequence which President Wilson points out is the effect of selective provisions already a law. These do not take into consideration the character, the purposes, and the natural capacity of the contract laborer, or of the Chinaman, or of the poor immigrant who may become a public charge, or of those suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases, or those unable to pay the head tax, or of the polygamist, or of the induced or assisted or solicited immigrant, and so on.

Thus the adoption of the literacy test would not be a departure from the fundamental basis underlying our national or traditional or long-established policy but merely an extension of this policy to a class or group not now affected by the law. Our national policy has for so long a time been based upon the exercise of the right of the American people to exclude from their shores whoever and whomsoever they determine to exclude that to claim the contrary as their national or traditional or long-established policy would be, in substance, to deny them that right. Every single law in regard to immigration regulation that has been passed by Congress since the United States Supreme Court declared that body had exclusive jurisdiction has been in the direction of further and of stricter restriction. Not one of those laws

has ever "let down the bars" after those bars have once been put up.

Even though this were not true, and if we accept for the moment as a fact the statement that a certain line of action has become our traditional policy, mere precedence is no good argument in itself for the continuance of such a policy. The American people have never worshiped at the shrine of tradition, they have never made of precedent a fetish. It must be assumed, whatever our policy in the past, that it has been based upon what was believed to be the best interests of the nation. These best interests may then have abundantly justified free and unrestricted immigration. The same basis for our policy of today may demand restricted immigration, and this is exactly what the Immigration Commission has reported. If it is mere consistency we are after, it lies in the adoption of a policy which will be for the best interests of the nation, and this consists today in abandoning the so-called and alleged traditional policy of unrestricted immigration.

Unless it can be affirmatively proven that the continuance of such a policy is for the best interests of the nation, and especially so when so much evidence to the contrary is at hand as is contained in the voluminous report of the Immigration Commission—unless sufficient evidence can be submitted pointing that way, there is no justification for continuing in that direction simply because that is the way we have been going. It is equally true, as President Cleveland's veto mes-

sage says, that "its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration." Reasons for this are to be found in abundance in the report and recommendation of the Immigration Commission.

If we are to turn away from "tests of character and of quality and of personal fitness," it is because these no longer protect our democratic society from the evils that assail it from present-day immigration. If we take up tests "which exclude and restrict," it is because we find these essential to our social safety and progress and to our national welfare.

Our problem today is not a question of consistency in following out a traditional national policy in regard to immigration but one of application of intelligence to the same economic phenomenon operating under entirely different conditions. These may or may not require the adoption of the same national policy; they may involve a complete reversal of that policy. It is the height of folly to maintain that our immigration problem today is the same and demands the same treatment as that of a generation or generations ago simply because it has the same word name. Conditions are fundamentally different among a population of one hundred million people than among fifty million or less with so many radically different economic factors in operation.

More even than this is the important fact that

we have had an opportunity through experience to become acquainted with certain facts that should enable us to approach the solution of the present aspects of the immigration problem with a greater degree of intelligence.

President Wilson clearly perceives that "if the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests" and if they desire to "reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so." The only question in his mind is that he is not sure what the people want. He can not convince himself that they want such restriction as is provided for in the literacy test. He doubts that the bill he vetoed rests upon "the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people."

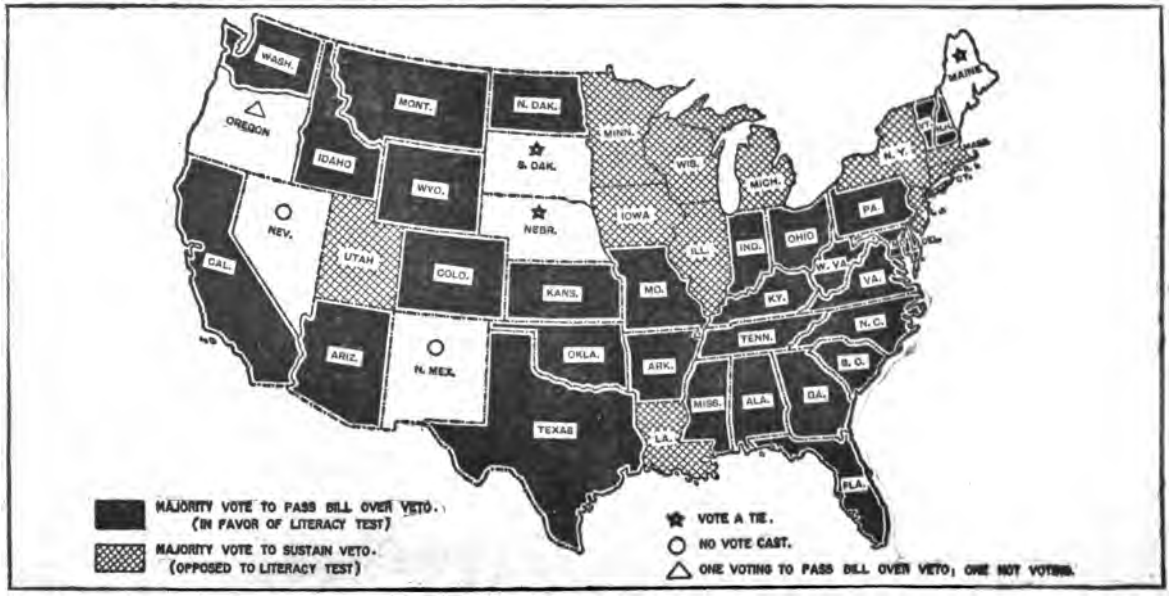
The presumption that the members of Congress, coming from all sections of the country, are in close touch with the beliefs and sentiments of the people has some justification in fact. That these representatives record these beliefs and sentiments in their votes in the House and Senate, and especially so when these are repeated session after session and in Congress after Congress, can also be safely presumed.

Since 1896 there have been sixteen recorded votes on bills embodying the literacy test in one form or another in the House and Senate. Each time the measure has passed by more than a majority vote in each branch. In 1896 the House vote on the bill vetoed by President Cleveland was 195

to 26 and that in the Senate 52 to 10. The vote in the House in 1913 to pass the bill over President Taft's veto was 213 to 114; in the Senate the vote was 72 to 18, this being more than the required two-thirds—as much as three-fourths—of the Senate membership. In 1914 the House passed the literacy-test bill by a vote of 252 to 126, and the Senate in 1915 by a vote of 50 to 7. This measure failed of passage over President Wilson's veto by only four votes in the House, the division being 261 for to 136 against.

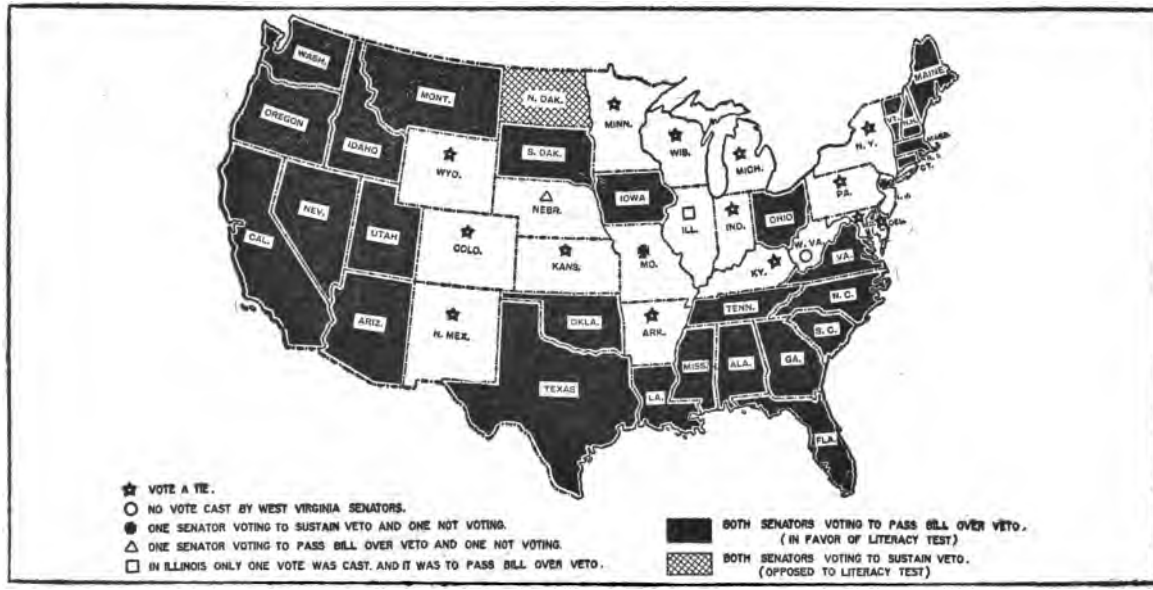
Three times during the past eighteen years both houses of Congress have passed by a large majority an immigration bill containing the literacy test; in addition, the House alone has passed such a bill once and the Senate twice. Out of the 213 members of the House who voted in 1913 to pass the bill over President Taft's veto more than 160 were reëlected; out of the 252 members of the House who voted in 1914 for the literacy test and whose position on the immigration question was thus known to the voters, 185 were returned. The former was a Republican Congress and the latter Democratic.

As many as twenty-seven of the forty-eight states favor the adoption of the literacy test as a method of restricting immigration, if we accept an analysis based upon the vote in Congress on both the Taft and Wilson vetoes and if we assume that the Representatives correctly represent the sentiment in each of the states. These twenty-seven states are Vermont, Pennsylvania,



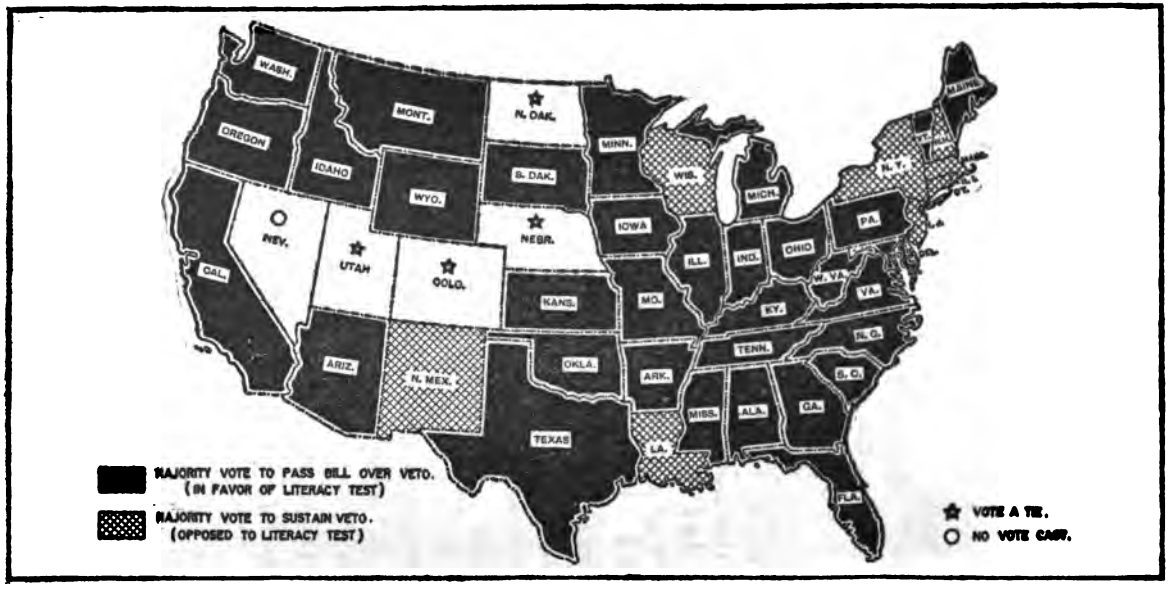
VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE TAFT VETO OF IMMIGRATION BILL

This vote was 213 in favor of, and 114 opposed to, the literacy test. A change of five votes only would have passed the bill over the Presidential veto.



VOTE IN SENATE ON THE TAFT VETO OF IMMIGRATION BILL

The vote was 72 in favor of, and 18 opposed to, the literacy test. This is more than the required two-thirds—it is three-fourths of the Senate membership.



VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE WILSON VETO OF IMMIGRATION BILL

This vote was 261 in favor of, and 136 opposed to, the literacy test. A change of four votes only would have passed the bill over the Presidential veto.

Delaware, Maryland, the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Arizona, Washington, and California.

In addition, a majority of the Representatives in the Republican House from each of the states of New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Colorado voted to pass the literacy-test bill over the Taft veto, and a majority of the Representatives in the Democratic House from each of the states of Maine, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, South Dakota, and Oregon voted to pass the literacy-test bill over the Wilson veto. So that it is found that as many as thirty-seven of the forty-eight states—nearly four-fifths—have recently been recorded through their Representatives in Congress as being in favor of the restriction of immigration by means of the literacy test. Seven more states favor the literacy test in the vote on the Wilson veto compared with the vote on the Taft veto. In the cases of Maine and Nebraska, the vote of their Representatives on the Taft veto was a tie; so was the vote of the Representatives from each of the states of North Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, and Utah on the Wilson veto.

Considering only those states a majority of whose Representatives voted for the literacy-test bill, we find in favor of this form of immigration restriction three of the six New England States, one of the three Middle Atlantic, all of the eight

South Atlantic, seven of the eight South Central, ten of the twelve North Central, five of the eight Mountain, and all of the three Pacific States. These thirty-seven states, favorable to restriction by means of the literacy test, represent more than 69,000,000 of our total population, a proportion of more than seventy-five per cent. This leaves only eleven states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Louisiana, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Utah, Nevada, and New Mexico—a majority of whose Representatives have not been recorded in favor of the literacy test. Of these eleven states only eight—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Louisiana, Wisconsin, and New Mexico—have a majority of their Representatives been recorded as being opposed to the literacy-test provision.

When we analyze the vote of the Senatorial representatives of the states on the bills before they were vetoed by Presidents Taft and Wilson, it is found that on both occasions all the representatives of eleven states favored the literacy test as a means of restricting immigration. These states are Vermont, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Ohio, Iowa, South Dakota, Washington, Oregon, and California. In addition, both Senators from Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada favored restriction in voting upon the

Taft veto; both Senators from Minnesota, Nebraska, and Colorado voted for restriction when the matter was up during the Wilson Administration.

Here are thirty-one states whose two representatives from each in the United States Senate have both voted within two years in favor of immigration restriction by means of the literacy test. The states whose Senators divided their vote on the Taft veto, one for and one against restriction, were New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Arkansas, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. In the cases of Illinois and Nebraska, one Senator from each voted for the passage of the bill over the Taft veto and the other did not have his vote recorded.

In view of this record as indicating the consideration that has been given by Congress to the question, the presumption is all the stronger that these representatives of the people know and express the sentiment of the nation. Notwithstanding, President Wilson says that he is "not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen representatives know them," still he does not believe that the people have made up their minds "to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests." He suggests that "the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish."

In the vote in the House to pass the restriction

bill over President Wilson's veto, 166 Democrats voted in favor of the literacy test and 102 against; 80 Republicans for and 32 against; 14 Progressives for and 2 against. The 261 votes in favor of passing the bill over the Wilson veto consisted of 166 Democrats, 80 Republicans, 14 Progressives, and one Independent, showing a large majority of all the parties as represented in Congress to be in favor of such restriction.

Such a suggestion as that which President Wilson makes in regard to the party platform is not only impracticable because of the large number of other political issues that are involved in every Presidential campaign but it is also wholly futile as a means of ascertaining public opinion. We have previously called attention to the platform planks on the immigration issue that have already been embodied in the party platforms and these have favored restriction. Even granting that public opinion on the subject could be clearly indicated in this way, the question remains, What assurance have the people that their wishes thus expressed would be heeded, in view of only very recent action by the Democratic Party on the Panama Canal toll question?

It will be recalled that the Democratic House had already passed a bill exempting from toll "American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal" before the assembling of the Baltimore convention in 1912. The platform of that convention endorsed this action and approved this policy. So did Mr. Wilson himself in

his campaign pledges and speeches. But after the election, upon the recommendation of President Wilson, the Democratic Congress completely reversed its position and passed a bill requiring American ships passing through the canal to pay toll. We are not concerned here with the merits or demerits of the canal toll policy but with the platform pledges of the Democratic Party. If it and its leaders felt justified in thus violating solemn platform pledges as to tolls, what is there to restrain them from refusing to enact an immigration restriction bill demanded by their platform?

Again, the Baltimore platform of the Democratic party in 1912, upon which President Wilson was elected, did "speak out" upon the policy of a single term of office for the Presidency. But President Wilson is again an avowed candidate for that office. How, then, can the American people take seriously his suggestion as to their speaking out on the subject of immigration through their party platforms? What convincing evidence do these two illustrations afford that he will be "willing to abide by the verdict" if the American people "pronounce their wish" in the party platform in favor of immigration restriction by means of the literacy test?

CHAPTER XXV

DISTRIBUTION AS A REMEDY

PRESIDENT TAFT bases his veto upon "the reasons stated in Secretary Nagel's letter." It should not need to be asserted that Mr. Nagel has a perfect right to his opinions and that no one can properly gainsay them. But when he attempts as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, as a member of the President's Cabinet, to support his opinions, and particularly so when they have to do with a great national problem of tremendous significance to the American people—when he endeavors to bulwark those opinions by submitting statements of alleged facts, then these statements are subject to critical analysis in order that their real substance may be known to the people.

Among the reasons for vetoing the immigration bill which Secretary Nagel supplied to President Taft is that "no sufficiently earnest and intelligent effort has been made to bring our wants and our supply together." He expresses his opinion that the literacy test should not be adopted "until we have at least exhausted the possibilities of a rational distribution of the immigrants." This is the familiar argument of those who oppose any kind of immigration restric-

tion. Immigration is all right, they say; the trouble comes from not distributing it properly. And then these "liberal" immigrationists point to the large land areas uninhabited and awaiting settlement and development.

"The agricultural districts offer the solution of this distribution problem," Mr. S. A. Hughes, General Immigration Agent of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad, tells us.

Yonder beyond the Mississippi River there lies an empire of unoccupied territory, ten million acres of undeveloped land in the state of Missouri, twenty-eight million acres of undeveloped land in the state of Arkansas, eighteen million in the Indian Territory, and sixteen million acres of land in the state of Texas, undeveloped, awaiting the hand of man for development; one hundred and sixty million acres of land out of one hundred and seventy-two million acres; a country larger than the state of New York and all New England combined. Still, you have more people in the city of New York than we have in the state of Texas; two hundred and sixty-five thousand square miles within the boundaries of the state and eight hundred miles across from east to west. I might offer a suggestion as a solution of this distribution problem, that we place these land propositions before these immigrants, before they ever embark, so that they may be directed properly and to their best advantage and to the best interest of the community. We must get down to the fact that agriculture is the foundation of manufacture; always has been and always will be.

I believe that the immigrants who are coming to this country, allowing a fair quota for labor in the cities and in the industrial sections, should be attracted to the farm upon this side, and for that reason the Immigration Commissioner's hands should be strengthened so that he could increase the facilities at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports for diverting the busi-

ness from Ellis Island to the unoccupied and undeveloped lands of the South and the Southwest.[1]

With this very purpose of distribution in view there was created by Congress in 1907, as a part of the Federal Government's Bureau of Immigration, a Division of Information. Its object, in the words of the statute, was "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several states and territories desiring immigration." The Division was to "gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, and physical characteristics of each state and territory" and was to "publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens who may ask for such information at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same."

In order to obtain this useful information from all available sources, the Division corresponded with the governors and principal officers of all the states and territories; with leading manufacturers and employers of labor; with labor organizations and farmers' associations, and in other ways. The result of these efforts the Commissioner-General of Immigration describes as follows in his annual report for 1914: "After a brief experience in the effort to impart information verbally

[1] From *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 121-123.

to arriving immigrants at Ellis Island, it was discovered that they had been informed before leaving Europe that they must be on the lookout for all who approached them with a view to assisting them in any way. They were worried, anxious, in a hurry to land, and in no frame of mind to receive or appreciate a tender of information or assistance from anyone."

He points out three main difficulties that interfere with the success of such an undertaking: (1) The labor required is to a considerable extent merely seasonal, and aliens no more than natives do not care to go any great distance to accept temporary employment even though high wages are offered; (2) the use of any plans having in view the distribution of foreign laborers is always open to the objection that labor conditions, already uncertain in many ways, are disturbed by any action that involves artificial interference with the "natural operation" of the law of supply and demand; (3) in many sections of the country in need of immigration to aid development of agricultural and promote other industrial pursuits, the desire seems to be for settlers who will invest in lands and establish homes rather than for laborers.

This machinery of distribution was under the executive control and direction of Secretary Nagel himself as long as he was at the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor. It had had a trial of more than six years at the time of President Taft's veto. It has failed to affect materially

or to influence in any important degree the distribution within the country of the immigration tide.

There have also been serious and determined attempts in recent years to persuade the southern states to undertake a distribution of immigrants in that section of the country. These eighteen states south of the Mason and Dixon Line, being virtually without any of the recent immigration and containing altogether less than five per cent. of our total foreign-born population, would appear to offer an excellent opportunity for the success of distribution plans.

Beginning about 1900, bureaus of immigration were created in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Missouri, with a commissioner in charge whose purpose it was to further immigration to those states. At the same time there was inaugurated throughout the South a series of annual conferences or conventions on the subject of the distribution of immigrants. Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi held such immigration conventions, which were called, apparently by local citizens and commercial bodies, to discuss ways and means for bringing in a class of desirable white immigrants. "A greater state," "a larger population," "development of our resources," and similar phrases were the cry. Every local commercial body and each city was invited to send delegates. A number of interstate conferences on immigra-

tion were also held throughout the South, including one at Birmingham in Alabama in 1905, at Nashville and Chattanooga in Tennessee, at Tampa in Florida, and at Jackson in Mississippi, the latter in 1910. These were attended by representative southern men as delegates and were usually presided over by a governor of one of the southern states.

In South Carolina the movement was supported by the cotton-mill men, real estate dealers, and transportation interests. Their financial contribution, together with an appropriation by the state legislature, enabled the State Commissioner of Immigration to go abroad under instructions to select carefully a shipload of immigrants. In course of time these arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, on the steamer *Wittekind*. They numbered about seven hundred and were distributed among the "interests" of the state in proportion to their money contribution to the fund that enabled the aliens to be brought over. Within a very short time the number remaining in the places in which they had been distributed was insignificant.

Another phase of this agitation to draw immigrants into the South took on the aspect of establishing a Southern Commercial Congress with headquarters in Washington. It was proposed to build a million-dollar building for "a greater Nation through a greater South," meaning by this the immediate development of all the South's resources by means of immigration. Numerous

banquets were held and there seemed to be no end to the funds available.

But all these attempts to distribute immigrants throughout the South also resulted in failure. The legislature of South Carolina in 1909 abolished its state bureau of immigration and by affirmative statute forbade a "state official to attempt directly or indirectly to bring immigrants into South Carolina." In 1911 Missouri abolished its immigration bureau by substituting a commission, which it was understood should not and is not doing any work along the lines of inducing immigration. Virginia and North Carolina took similar action by discontinuing the appropriation of funds. Tennessee and Alabama never appointed their state commissioners of immigration. Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee repeatedly refused to induce even "desirable foreign immigration," although their legislators were annually urged by influential interests to adopt such a policy. North Carolina, through its bureau of labor, in 1906 made a canvass of the wishes and needs for immigration and found strong opposition to inducing or distributing in that state the present immigrants.

These attempts to distribute immigrants in the South aroused public sentiment in that section in opposition and this manifested itself in resolutions and memorials to Congress. One of these was adopted by the convention at Tampa, Florida, and was to the effect that "the several states

carefully consider the question of foreign immigration as a national question, and that our Representatives in Congress be asked to urge upon Congress the enactment of such Federal legislation as will effectively stem the tide of undesirable immigration now pouring into this country through the great ports of entry, and such laws as will look to the careful examination of applicants for admission at the ports of departure." Another memorial to Congress was from the Virginia Assembly, and was as follows: "Resolved by the Senate of Virginia (the House of Delegates concurring) That our Representatives in both Houses of Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to oppose in every possible manner the influx into Virginia of immigrants from southern Europe, with their Mafia and Black-Hand murder societies, and with no characteristics to make them with us a homogeneous people. Believing, as we do, that upon Anglo-Saxon supremacy depends the future welfare and prosperity of this commonwealth, we view with alarm any effort that may tend to corrupt its citizenship."

With full realization of the strength of the energy and efficiency and determination which was put forth by the interests back of this movement to divert immigration into the South, the failure of these efforts becomes all the more significant.

But there have been other efforts made to distribute immigration. New York State has endeavored time and again through its department of agriculture to induce the immigrant to settle

upon the abandoned farms of that state, of which there are many thousands. These efforts, too, have resulted in failure. Then there are the numerous like efforts of other states, Pennsylvania for illustration.

"My own experience as an official of the Pennsylvania department of agriculture," says Mr. M. D. Lichliter, in testifying before a committee of Congress, "has taught me that the great trouble is to get men to work on our farms. The farmers of my state appealed to the department of agriculture at Harrisburg and to the Federal Division of Information to send immigrants to the farms of our Commonwealth, and out of ninety-nine requests but one met with a response. They do not want to come to the farms; they do not want to come out into the rural districts. What few we have secured (the farmers paying the cost of transportation) have been unsatisfactory. The result is that they stay only one week or two weeks, and do not do enough work to pay for their transportation. They are not here for that purpose."[1]

In an effort to place unemployed men from the Bowery Mission bread-line on farms in Nebraska and the West, John C. Earl, its director, found a difference of opinion among the newspapers, state officials, and farmers of the West as to the need of more "help" from the East. He says:

[1] Testimony given at hearings before Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-Second Congress.

DISTRIBUTION AS A REMEDY

On February 10, 1909, there appeared in two papers published in Omaha, Nebraska, stories with flaring headlines telling of the crying need of farmers for help. These stories were based on an interview with Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture W. M. Maupin of Nebraska, in which he said he knew of cases enough to give employment to one thousand men from the East if they could be obtained. In the course of this interview Mr. Maupin gave the names of twenty-five farmers, whom, he said, he knew to need from five to twenty men each.

A few days after this story appeared in the papers I received a communication from A. W. Frick, of Fentonville, Nebraska, in which he inclosed the clippings from both of the papers, and said that if the people of New York who were running the Bowery Mission bread-line wanted to they could place a number of men on these Nebraska farms, where help was so badly needed.

I immediately wrote Mr. Frick and asked him to send me the addresses of any farmers who wanted help. I wrote the two newspapers, asking for the same information, and sent a similar letter to Deputy Commissioner Maupin. Then I wrote to each of the farmers whose names and addresses Mr. Maupin had given. In reply the newspapers say they have no addresses. Mr. Frick says that since writing all of the farmers have been supplied with the help they need, and Mr. Maupin replies that there was all the help needed in the state just now. This he says despite the fact that he asserted two weeks ago that the farmers were in need of help and that one thousand men could be placed. The farmers said they were supplied.

This is the trouble we are constantly having. Newspapers print stories that help is badly needed in certain sections of the country. We offer to furnish honest, industrious, sober men who are willing to take any kind of work, since they have been out of employment for months, and then we find that the work is not there.[1]

---

[1] From an interview in the *New York Times*, February 27, 1909.

Mr. Earl stated that there were in New York City at the time one hundred and fifty thousand men out of work, a large number of these being assisted by their families and friends. The Bowery Mission bread-line was then averaging about two thousand men applicants each night. During 1908 Mr. Earl wrote to the governor of every state in the Union, offering to supply labor if he were furnished with the addresses of farmers in need of it. From these letters he did not receive a single reply showing any great demand for farm hands.

The United States Commissioner-General of Immigration is not optimistic regarding the plans of the organizations that are struggling with the problem of placing the immigrants where it is claimed they are needed and of preventing their settling in colonies in the large cities and centers of industry. He points out that the various schemes for distribution are subject to several practical difficulties often overlooked by the theoreticians. These difficulties are: (1) It is probably now too late to stem the tide which has set toward certain localities where alien nucleus colonies exist; (2) even though some aliens may be "distributed" they can not always be induced to remain where they are placed; (3) distribution is not now, if it ever was, the real remedy for the evils which admittedly result from immigration. He is inclined to believe that the Government's difficulties in the aggregate, viewing the matter from a national standpoint, are increased rather

than reduced by the plans now operated or advocated for the general distribution of aliens. He also asserts that any plan for the distribution of alien laborers must have a tendency to increase immigration.[1]

All of which indicates that there must be something the matter with Secretary Nagel's opinion that "no sufficiently earnest and intelligent effort has been made to bring our wants and our supply together." These statements also indicate how relatively unimportant is his attempt to show with what "rapid strides the foreign-born citizen is acquiring the farm lands of the country." Calling attention to the large number of admitted immigrants who are "farmers," and leaving it to be inferred that they go on to the farms of the country does not square with the well known fact that their distribution is almost entirely in the industrial centers.

So much for the argument that it is in the proper distribution of the immigrants that lies the country's remedy for the evils of immigration. Artificial distribution against the will and purpose of the immigrant and in defiance of the economics of the situation is not a remedy. Distributing him where he is not wanted and where he does not want to go may be a temporary but it is not a permanent solution—it is forced, not natural distributiou. All these attempts have failed, as they must continue to fail, simply because of the self-evident facts that the present-day

[1] Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1911, p. 5.

immigrant does not come here seeking a farm or permanent residence, that he does not possess the money with which to buy agricultural land, and that he does seek industrial employment for the higher wages which it offers.

CHAPTER XXVI

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

THE opinion is expressed in Secretary Nagel's letter that "we need labor in this country." The Federal Immigration Commission, created by Congress for the very purpose of ascertaining the facts in regard to the need for labor, reported the existence of an over-supply of unskilled labor in all our basal industries to an extent which indicated an over-supply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole. And the immigration that was coming in at the time consisted largely of this unskilled labor which caused "a plethora in the labor markets."

Not only are Secretary Nagel's "reasons" distinguished because they are at variance with the facts as disclosed by the Commission's investigations but also because they largely ignore those facts. In not a single important instance do his "reasons" consider the conditions in the United States that are affected by immigration and upon which the report of the Commission is based. He expresses the opinion inferentially that if the Commission had only made "a careful examination" this would dispel "the apprehension" and would make unnecessary the adoption of such a

restrictive measure as the literacy test. He believes there is a misapprehension "as to the character of the people who come over here to remain."

The commission investigated in the home countries of the immigrants. Its experts ascertained the motives and studied the means resorted to in inducing them to emigrate and looked into their qualifications for citizenship. They accompanied the immigrants in the steerage of the steamships in order to study conditions at close range and they followed them into the slums of the great cities and into other large industrial centers where they congregate. Into the factories, the coal mines, the textile mills, the railroad and construction camps, in fact wherever the immigrants went in large numbers there went also the commission's experts seeking the facts.

Consisting of more than forty volumes, the report of the commission is the result of an investigation which extended over a period of more than three years and which was specifically authorized by Congress with the primary object of securing accurate information upon the very definite purpose of legislation as to the advisability of adopting the literacy test. Scores of experts and students of special phases of the problem and a large force of clerks were employed to compile and interpret correctly the information that was collected not only from all parts of our own country but also from the European sources of our immigration. No expense was spared in this

work. It was one of the most thorough and exhaustive studies of all phases of immigration that had ever been made or that it is possible to secure. Not a single important aspect of the problem was neglected. Of the nine members of the commission all but one recommended the enactment into law of the literacy test based upon a policy of restriction.

Notwithstanding all this, Secretary Nagel places his personal "observation" alongside the forty-volume report of the results of the Immigration Commission's investigation by trained experts and comes to the conclusion favoring his "observation" as to the undesirability of the literacy test. He "thinks" this commission "superficially considered" the industrial conditions as affected by immigration. He is "of the opinion" that the literacy test can not be defended upon its merits. One of these merits, he says, is the claim that it is a selective test, but "I became completely satisfied that upon that ground the test could not be sustained." The Immigration Commission itself recommends the literacy test not as a test of selection but as one of restriction. As long ago as a year and more before his appointment to the Cabinet position of Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Mr. Nagel expressed himself as follows: "I wish to put myself on record as unqualifiedly opposed to a literacy test." This he said on January 18, 1911, in addressing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York City. Even the findings of the Immigration Commission did

not influence Mr. Nagel to change his views on the subject.

President Taft had easy access to this report of the commission. And yet he ignored it and its recommendations and instead accepted the "reasons" of a personal appointee in his political Cabinet. Would the American people have made such a choice if they had had the opportunity of choosing?

Nowhere in his reasons does Secretary Nagel offer a single argument against the literacy test that was not advanced in the debates on the floor of Congress. These objections were there all discussed, carefully considered, reported upon by committees, and passed upon at different times by more than a majority of both Senators and Representatives. Members of the House and Senate, and among these some of the most distinguished for public service, have in fact given twenty years to the special study of the immigration problem. For instance, as long ago as 1896 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, in a speech in the Senate, discussed the literacy test. In that speech he considered all the objections brought against it in 1913 by Secretary Nagel's reasons.

Secretary Nagel's opinion is also directly contrary to the recommendations of the trained heads of the bureaus within his department who deal specifically with this subject. One of the members of the Immigration Commission was Dr. Charles P. Neill, at that time Commissioner in charge of

the Bureau of Labor in the department of which Mr. Nagel was Secretary, who expressed himself as being in favor of the adoption of the literacy test. A more important fact is that the single head of an executive department has been permitted to determine what the law of the United States shall provide regardless of, in fact in direct opposition to, the deliberate judgment of nearly two-thirds of the accredited representatives of the people in their Congress assembled! His opinion has been permitted to have more weight than the deliberate judgment of the commission.

The whole tenor of Secretary Nagel's reasons is one of pity for the immigrant—it wears the mask of the soft sentimentalist. He points to "the embarrassment, expense, and distress to those who seek to enter" and who would be debarred by the test. But nowhere is there to be found a single word that would indicate his possession of any knowledge as to the serious effects of immigration upon the American workingman through low wages and a debased standard of living. Nowhere is there any recognition of the startling effects that too much immigration is having upon American institutions and American democracy. From such vital considerations the "reasons" turn away to point out that the enforcement of the proposed law may cost a million dollars annually. More than this amount would have been raised under the provision of the bill which increased the head tax from four to five dollars. The bill also pro-

vided that every steamship company bringing to the United States a person unable to read in some language or dialect was to be fined one hundred dollars and, besides, the company had to take that person back to Europe free of charge.

Of equal unimportance are the "reasons" that there would have to be an increase in the force administering the provisions of the proposed law and that there would be delay and "very considerable embarrassment" experienced in its administration.

Real objections can be made to legislation embodying the literacy test just as they can be, have been, and will be, made to any form of restriction whatsoever. But these real objections are not embodied in Secretary Nagel's letter to President Taft and upon which President Taft based his veto.

The literacy test has the defects of any and all tests that would reach and remedy the evils of too much immigration. It would keep out some immigrants that are desirable. Any other test would do the same. It would not of itself keep out all that are undesirable. Nor would any other practical test do this. For illustration, it will not exclude all criminals or anarchists because some of these are able to read and write. But it has never been claimed by its proposers as an argument in support of the literacy test that it would keep out anarchists or criminals; the exclusion of these is already provided for in the existing law, and the literacy test has no more relation to their

exclusion than it has to the keeping out of contract laborers or the diseased or the paupers. And yet one of the arguments that have been made much use of by those opposed to the literacy test is that it will not keep out such undesirable immigrants.

Another man of straw of those opposed to restriction is that the literacy test is a test of opportunity and not of character. It is not intended as a test of character. And it is no more a test of opportunity than are the provisions against the admittance of the diseased a test of the lack of opportunity on the part of the victim to be healthy, or of the pauper because he lacked the opportunity to be rich, or of the Chinaman who lacked the opportunity to be a German or a member of some other race not excluded, or of the idiot or feeble-minded or insane who lacked the opportunity to be sane, or of the physically defective, or others of the excluded classes each of whom lacked the opportunity to be free of the defect that is the cause of his exclusion.

The literacy test is simply and solely a restrictive test and is proposed as such. In the belief of its advocates, it will meet the situation as disclosed by the investigation of the Immigration Commission better than any other means that human ingenuity can devise. It is believed that it would exclude more of the undesirable and a less number of the desirable immigrants than any other method of restriction. It goes to the root of the evils, which are largely economic.

Similar conditions have been responsible for provisions in the existing law requiring the exclusion and expulsion of paupers, persons likely to become a public charge, contract laborers, and induced and assisted immigrants. It is not considered as sound public policy that the taxpayers of the United States shall maintain the indigent of other countries whose indigency is in no sense chargeable to conditions existing here. Because of this, paupers and those likely to become such are excluded and those who within three years after entry become public charges from prior existing causes are sent back to the countries responsible for them. This certainly is a test of opportunity and not of character.

How much more important than the cost of poor relief is the maintenance of the American standard of living and of wages! This is already the basis of the provisions regarding the exclusion and expulsion of contract laborers and of induced and assisted immigrants. But these provisions are not sufficient to maintain the American standard. This most desirable end can be attained under present conditions only by a decrease in the volume of immigration. The literacy test will bring about this decrease.

The literacy test is not aimed primarily at illiteracy. It is not aimed at the immigrant as such. Under favorable conditions the illiteracy of the immigrant is sooner or later remedied. It is not directed against any particular race or against aliens from any particular country. It is directed

primarily against the volume of immigration, and is justified in the fact that the conspicuous characteristic of large numbers of immigrants is their inability to read and write. And the literacy test is aimed at the quantity of immigration primarily and solely for the purpose of bringing it within a reasonable degree of our ability to absorb and assimilate its elements.

Our national policy is based upon assimilation as the justification of immigration. When assimilation is retarded or ceases, then our national safety demands that immigration be checked. The literacy test is the best available practical means of protecting our country, our people, and our democratic institutions from the very serious dangers that are now attacking all three through the excessive volume of immigration. It is towards these dangers and evils that the test is really directed in order that they may be guarded against and prevented. It is simply a means to a most desirable end. If this end could better be reached in any other way the literacy test would give way to this other means.

That the quantity of immigration is the crux of our immigration problem is recognized by clear and unprejudiced thinkers. Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University says:

> I think all persons must admit that there might be an excessive immigration into the United States; in fact, it might become so great as to become detrimental to the welfare of this country. Every one will admit that. Where we would draw the line we can not say, but if the influx of immigration

should become, instead of one million or so a year, five or ten million a year, I think most of us, perhaps all of us, would admit that it was too great.

Is it too great now? Here it seems to me is the central question of the problem of immigration of the present day. I am inclined to put the question of immigration in this way: Is the process of assimilation keeping pace with the process of immigration? I admit frankly that no one can answer that definitely and conclusively by any proof that will satisfy all, but it seems to me that is the essential question. That is the reason why you can never answer it by statistics, for on both sides immigration and assimilation are social processes. Statistics at the best can only give statistical conditions. They can not give changes, at any rate, in such a complicated question as this. We may get side lights on this question, but it is too big to be answered by any statistics.

As to the question whether the process of assimilation is keeping pace with the process of immigration, it seems to me that certain statistical inferences may be drawn. If we could show, on the average, that the immigrant or foreign-born population of the United States were statistically different, that evidence would tend, so far as it goes, to indicate that the differences were great, and perhaps that the process of assimilation was not keeping up with the process of immigration.[1]

Even the opponents of the literacy test do not deny, in fact they admit, that its application would considerably reduce the volume of immigration. This is their principal objection to its adoption. It would do this by effecting a decrease in the number of unskilled laborers now entering the country annually who can not read. And it would affect principally the immigration from those countries which is composed most largely of men

[1] *Facts on Immigration*, National Civic Federation, pp. 51-52.

without families who come here only temporarily and intermittently, the so-called "Birds of Passage," and who bring with them the low standard of living that is so fatal to the higher standard and higher wage demands of our native workers.

Commissioner Williams, who was formerly at the head of the immigration service at Ellis Island, in his report for 1910 says:

I have already adverted to the easy-going character of our exclusion laws and stated that even their strict enforcement would keep out only the very bad elements of foreign countries. Between these elements and those that are a real benefit to the country (as so many of our immigrants are) there lies a class who may be quite able to earn a living here, but who in doing so tend to pull down our standards of living. I am not now concerned with the question whether or not laws can be framed which will correctly describe this undesirable class.

I wish merely to emphasize, what must be known to every thinking person, that it is coming here in considerable numbers and that we are making no effort to exclude it. Few people are bold enough to claim that we are in urgent need of any more immigrants who will crowd into the congested districts of our large cities. And yet this is where a large percentage of our immigrants now go and stay. At the time when portions of the West are crying for out-of-door labor the congestion in New York City may be increasing at the rate of many thousands per month. Another way of putting this is to say that much of our present-day immigration is not responsive to the legitimate demands for additional labor in the United States. I think this fact should be made known throughout those sections of our country where many erroneously think that further restrictions of the right kind would increase the difficulties incident to obtaining labor for which there is a real demand. Quite the contrary is the case,

for poor immigration tends to deter good immigrants from coming.

Having found in all of the great industrial centers of the country an over-supply of this common labor that does not minister to the good of the communities, the Immigration Commission studiously sought a means with which to limit the number of this class of immigrants. Its members considered an increase in the head tax, but such an increase would accomplish just that which they most desired to avoid. For illustration, any increase in the head tax to be effective would have to be considerable and this would debar the alien who comes with his wife and children, the man who intends to make a home here and the man the country most desires. If he has a wife and, say, five children the head tax at twenty dollars would amount to $140, which in many cases would prove prohibitive. The commission also considered various other measures that might be adopted to limit the number of immigrants. It came to the conclusion, only one of the nine members dissenting, that the most feasible single method was the literacy test because it would reach those classes which constituted the great influx that was overcrowding the centers of industry.

This decision of the commission is based upon three important conclusions to which its assembling of facts inevitably led:

(1) A sufficient number must be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the over-supply of unskilled labor.

(2) As far as possible the aliens excluded must be those who come with no intention to become American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives or children.

(3) As far as possible the aliens excluded must also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, are least readily assimilable or who make the least desirable citizens.

The quality of our present immigration as compared with that of an earlier period is not an argument in favor of the literacy test and the restrictionists who use this as such are only confusing the issue and weakening their position. The same thing is true in regard to questioning or disparaging the motives of those who oppose immigration restriction and incidentally the application of the literacy test.

With motives the restrictionist should have nothing to do. To restrict immigration on the ground that the steamship companies make money out of the transportation of the immigrant is no reason for restriction. To restrict it because the coal operator or the steel corporation desires a large supply of cheap, unskilled labor is equally without rhyme or reason. To characterize as parasites the employment agents or the padrones or the immigrant bankers or the steamship ticket agents who favor unrestricted immigration and

to argue for restriction on this ground ignores the mountain for the mole hill.

It is equally false to assume that because our Republic is alive and doing well today, notwithstanding the large unrestricted immigration of the past, that this justifies a similar policy towards present-day immigration. The fact is, economic conditions in this country are entirely different from those of the past. Nor can present immigration be justified on the ground that the immigration of the past has given to us, as President Cleveland said, men "who, with their descendants, are numbered among our best citizens." Appeal to the past as a justification of present inaction is also contained in this statement from President Wilson's veto message: "Restrictions like these adopted earlier in our history as a nation would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics." All such appeals to the past assume that immigration of today is having like effects as the earlier immigration. This we know from the investigations of the Immigration Commission is not the case. Present-day immigration must be considered on its merits without regard to the past and this because of the very simple reason that the conditions are not at all the same.

CHAPTER XXVII

EFFECTS OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

THE one thing the literacy test was designed to accomplish—a decrease in the volume of immigration—has been brought about suddenly and startlingly by the precipitation of the European War. So far-reaching is this likely to be in influencing our national policy in regard to immigration that it is important to consider its probable future effects. Necessarily the permanency of the interference and the extent of the interruption are matters of conjecture, and any such consideration can, of course, be only speculative. Notwithstanding, there are important facts which give to this speculation more than ordinary value.....

Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, states the situation as follows: "What will happen after the war? Will America receive hundreds of thousands of people, shattered and weakened by the war, undermined by disease and exposure, and impoverished by the ravaging armies? Will even the German and the French, who have contributed but little to our alien population in recent years, flee from future military conscription and oppressive taxes? Or will the vacuum created by the destruction of

millions of able-bodied men provide a market for everyone's labor and through rising wages and the rebuilding of the country retain the population at home? Opinions differ. It is probable that conflicting currents will be set in motion and that those who predict a greatly increased immigration will find their opinions confirmed, and that with the rebuilding of Europe the tide will be ultimately checked and may in fact be reversed."

Here are two points of view. The advocates of each support their position by a contradictory interpretation of existing economic facts. One view emphasizes a continuance after the war of the present temporarily decreased immigration. It points out that the labor supply will have been so greatly reduced by the large number of killed and wounded that years will be required for the European population to supply the demand for workers which reconstruction after the war will bring about. This assumed increase in the demand over the diminished supply will cause wages to rise and these, we are told, will keep at home those who would otherwise emigrate.

This point of view ignores a very important related fact, and this is the destruction of the capital which is the first essential to the employment of labor. It is probably the fact that the war is destroying capital much faster than labor. All the warring powers are going into debt to an enormous extent to secure more and more capital. Not only must all this principal be paid back to the lender but also interest. In consequence, few,

if any, of the European countries now at war are to be in possession of any too great an amount of capital following the war with which to pay wages to their workers. Besides, the war debt will press heavily in taxes upon the wages of the workers.

Another aspect of this same problem is the pressure the European governments will be under to meet the payments of interest and principal. A very large amount of this capital, having been borrowed in the United States, can only be repaid quickly in commodities. This means a more or less rapid reconstruction of industry in Europe, as it is almost entirely through manufactured goods as distinguished from agricultural products that the debt can be wiped out. This it is that is even now causing our domestic manufacturers much concern, as they foresee a period of "dumping" of European-made goods into our home markets. But it is probable that this will be guarded against by tariff legislation. This would seem to indicate that the period of reconstruction in Europe following the war is to be considerably retarded, and in such a way as not to furnish the great demand for labor that some prophesy. In fact, it is the more probable that history is to repeat itself and that immigration to the United States following the present conflict will show the same tendency as it did at the close of past European wars.

The first of these wars with which we are concerned is that of the Napoleonic era. This historical period had just closed when the statistical

record of immigration to the United States began to be taken, so that information as to the effect following the close of the Napoleonic wars is available. This record shows the first large influx of aliens to our shores. The number coming here annually preceding the peace of Europe in 1815 did not average more than five thousand. By 1820 more than eight thousand a year were immigrating, by 1825 as many as ten thousand, and by 1830 more than twenty-three thousand, and in 1832 a number in excess of sixty thousand.

"The distress which followed the pacification of Europe," Professor McMaster tells us, "the disbanding of the armies and navies, the enormous war taxes, and the general depression of trade and agriculture, sent the middle classes of England, Ireland, and Germany to our shores by thousands."[1] So great was the migration that some of the European governments became alarmed and made efforts to keep at home the most desirable of those emigrating.

A flashlight view of this widespread condition of distress into which all Europe was plunged at the close of the Napoleonic wars is given by Robert Holditch in *The Emigrant's Guide,* published in 1818. He says: "The cry of distress was soon heard from all quarters, and the bankruptcy of our merchants and tradesmen occurred to an extent hitherto unknown. These failures involved the fate of thousands connected with trade and

[1] McMaster: *History of the People of the United States,* Vol. 4, p. 390.

commerce; the opulent became insolvent; many of the middle classes descended to poverty; the indigent filled the workhouses; the local taxes pressed with intolerable weight upon those who were able to pay, and the situation of many who contributed was scarcely superior to the wretched inmates of the workhouse. A frightful national debt still presses, and the united demands of local and national taxes have influenced, and do still influence, thousands of our countrymen to abandon their native shores, and to commence, as it were, a new existence on those of the Atlantic."

Such were these conditions in Europe that during the twenty-five years following the Battle of Waterloo and the overthrow of Napoleon there emigrated from the United Kingdom alone as many as two million people, and about seven-eighths of these came to the United States. And Great Britain, it is important to bear in mind, was the victorious one in the last of the Napoleonic wars.

Then followed the wars of the European revolutionary period when the oppressed populations, freed by the corporal-emperor from the age-long superstition of the divine right of kings, attempted to throw off the yoke of monarchy. Being mostly unsuccessful, these also resulted in increased immigration to the United States. Among these were the Polish revolution against Russia, that of the Bohemians against Germany, of the Hungarians against Austria, the Belgian insurrection, the wars of Italy, the revolution in France,

and the revolutionary outbreaks in Germany.[1] The great wars of Prussia in the sixties and seventies against the Danes, then the Austrians, and later the French also increased our immigration from those countries.

There is another important fact to be considered in any discussion as to the probable tendency in immigration following the termination of the present European conflict. This fact is that only a very small proportion of our recent immigration, and especially that coming from Austria-Hungary and Russia, is of the race politically dominant in the countries from which it comes. Virtually all our immigration from Russia, as much as ninety-seven out of every one hundred, is non-Russian—it is Jewish, Polish, Lithuanian, German, Finnish, and Lettish. The last census enumeration of our foreign born from Russia shows more than one-half—nearly fifty-two out of every one hundred—have Yiddish and Hebrew for their mother tongue. More than one-fourth speak Polish. Lithuanian and German come next in order as the mother tongue of our foreign born from Russia. Those speaking Russian amount to three per cent. only of all those here reporting Russia as their country of birth.

Somewhat the same situation is also found in Austria-Hungary. In Austria where the German and in Hungary where the Magyar is politically

[1] The political upheaval of 1848 sent tens of thousands of Germans to the United States.—McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. 7, p. 221.

dominant intolerable conditions are the lot of the subject races. The Pole is oppressed as much by the Austrian as by the Russian and German; the Slovenian and Serbian suffer also from the Austrian; the Slovak from the Magyar; the Jew is persecuted by all. Among our foreign born from Austria, at the taking of the last census, more than one-fourth reported Polish as their mother tongue, while others spoke Bohemian, German, Yiddish, and Slovenian. The Poles occupy a prominent place among those contributing to our foreign born, the number here now exceeding nine hundred and thirty-eight thousand. The largest number—nearly one-half—came from Russia and the next largest from Austria.

In the states of the Balkan Peninsula and in both European and Asiatic Turkey somewhat similar conditions are to be found. In the Balkan States we only recently witnessed the population rebelling against Turkish misrule. The immigration to the United States from Turkey in Europe includes principally Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Hebrews, Turks, and Armenians. From Turkey in Asia come principally Greeks with a sprinkling of Turks and Hebrews.

The correct interpretation of these facts flows naturally from their mere presentation. Economic distress accompanies governmental oppression, with its usual political, religious, and social persecution based upon racial antipathies, especially where one race becomes entrenched in power over subject races. This explains and will con-

tinue as the explanation of much of our immigration. Racial animosities expressed through governmental acts are often cruel and insufferable and result in emigration wherever such escape is possible. This rule by a dominant and different race nearly always brings about harsh economic conditions to the subject races.

All this being true, we have a basis upon which to judge of the renewal of European immigration to the United States following the close of the present armed conflict. Changes in sovereignty and in geographical boundaries will be followed by repressive and oppressive measures designed among other things to wipe out national memories, racial traditions, and even to prevent the use of mother tongues. Not to expect these things would be to assume a sudden and remarkable transformation in the fundamentals of race domination. Nor can we expect a discontinuance of those racial factors which have contributed so much to our past immigration.

When the present great war is at an end, when the populations of Europe are released from fighting and freed from the manacles of militarism, when they are at liberty to take up again their peaceful occupations, Europe will not be what it was before the war began. Economic maladjustment will set in just as it did following previous wars, burdensome taxes with which to meet the cost of the struggle will be levied by all the governments, capital will have been destroyed, even anticipated income will have been spent, and harsh

economic conditions will ensue among the people. Economic distress will be inevitable. All this is no prophecy. It is merely the teaching of past wars.

But there is another aspect of the situation that is likely to be even more influential. It is not so much the situation in Europe following this war as the conditions in the United States that must be regarded as the determining factor. There are many disputed points about immigration, but in preceding chapters it has been clearly demonstrated that present-day immigration moves and is governed by economic conditions in and the facilities for reaching the country to which the alien migrates more than by adverse conditions in his home country.

The extremely close relation which the development of ocean transportation has brought about between European countries and the United States has made the masses of Europe peculiarly sensitive to the economic and especially the industrial conditions in this country. It has in particular affected, and continues to affect even more strikingly than formerly, the volume of our immigration. At the present time immigration reflects, with the accuracy of a tide gauge, the rise and fall in our industrial prosperity. If one knew nothing at all about our panics and periods of business revival he would be able to tell the years of their occurrence and the length of time their effects continued merely by studying closely the statistics of immigration.

This is much more true today than in years past. Labor is now a world commodity affected by world prices. This price is determined by the highest wages paid in any country, not alone as formerly in the home country. In consequence, with wages here following the war higher than in Europe the workers will seek our mines and mills and factories where employment will be more profitable. This will permit the great mass of toilers, now soldiers in all the warring countries, to escape the burden of replacement and reconstruction which recovery from war always entails, a burden somewhat different from, but as heavy as that of, actual warfare itself. Having been dislocated by war from their customary vocations it will not be easy for them to return and take up again the threads of life where they were broken off; it will be less difficult to start anew in another country offering better opportunities.

It is to be expected that at the close of the war the great trans-Atlantic steamships, which have become mere ferry boats plying between the two sides of the Atlantic in that the immigrant can now reach the United States within at most ten days or two weeks, will resume their trade. And when they do they will be confronted by a situation wherein the United States will offer much better opportunities to the common man than any country of Europe will be able to offer. It would take too long and try your patience too much to attempt to introduce here the evidence on this point. All we have to do, however, to be con-

vinced, is to remember that this is not the millennium; that the United States has hardly begun the development of its material resources; that these are in such abundance as to give to us wealth beyond human comprehension; that there is a tomorrow when the enormous amount of capital now being hoarded and withheld from production under the stress of European war conditions will be released from the fetters of fear to start industry and business on an era of unprecedented development and expansion.

One other fact as to the probable future tendency of our immigration needs to be considered. Those who entertain the opinion that the temporary decrease is to continue at the close of the war call attention to the large number of soldiers being killed in the war and point out the effect this will have in decreasing the population there will be for immigration to draw upon.

Whether a fact is important depends upon the other fact by which you measure it. When we are told that ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand men in the very prime of life have been killed in a bloody battle we shudder with horror and magnify the importance of the number. But considered only numerically, all the thousands destroyed by the war are insignificant when compared with the multitude remaining in those great reservoirs of peoples from which most of our recent immigration was being drawn, such countries as Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Greece, Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. These reservoirs

have a combined population in excess of two hundred and ninety-one million. This is about two and one-fourth times the entire population of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, the western European sources of our earlier immigration. These vast reservoirs of peoples have so far barely been even tapped by the large immigration streams that until the war were flowing from some of them into the United States.

Russia, for instance, has an enormous annual increase in the number of its inhabitants. It is true the government has erected barriers against Slavic emigration. But the experience of that country is very likely to repeat that of other European countries which have attempted by governmental regulation to keep their people at home when stronger economic forces are at work among them drawing them to the United States. At present we receive comparatively few Slavs from Russia, but it is almost certain that if the sluices now retaining the vast multitude of Slavs within the empire were to be raised, there would pour forth a flood of emigrants the like of which the world has never seen and which would make our recent large immigration appear insignificant.

Again, Austria-Hungary has a population of about forty-seven million, some five million more than England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Today it already holds third place among the countries of the world contributing to our foreign-born population. And immigration from that country

had only just begun before the war opened. Of the total of more than three million arrivals from Austria-Hungary since 1860 more than two million came during the ten years only preceding 1910.

European and Asiatic Turkey have a population of twenty-four million, Persia of nearly eight million, Roumania of six million, Bulgaria of not quite four million, and Serbia of about three million. These countries were showing increases in their immigration to the United States before the war. The foreign born here from Roumania, for instance, increased more than fourfold the last census period—from about fifteen thousand to nearly sixty-six thousand. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey not specified, had a combined population in this country in 1910 in excess of twenty-six thousand, whereas ten years before it was not of sufficient importance to be enumerated separately by the census. The immigration from Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro in a single year rose to more than twenty-seven thousand. During the ten years preceding the last census our foreign born from Turkey in Europe increased from less than ten thousand to nearly twenty-nine thousand. Turkey in Asia gave us a foreign-born population at the last census of almost sixty thousand, whereas ten years before there was none enumerated by the census.

Thus in southern and eastern Europe and western Asia great reservoirs of races and peoples were only recently beginning to be tapped by the

ocean steamship lines. No one can conceive for these racial groups any possible betterment in their economic condition growing out of the present war. If anything, it will be worse, not better, and such as to increase their emigration. In virtually all of these countries the standard of living of the masses is very little, if any, above the mere cost of the coarsest subsistence. Unrestricted, their emigration will continue indefinitely until more of an equilibrium is established between their low economic rewards and the higher compensation to the workers in our own democratic society. This result can come about only through a slow and gradual process of economic adjustment continued over a period of many years.

Conjecturing in *The American Commonwealth* as to the future of immigration, Hon. James Bryce says: "It may, therefore, be expected that the natives of these parts of Europe, such as Russia, Poland, and South Italy, where wages are lowest and conditions least promising, will continue their movement to the United States until there is a nearer approach to an equilibrium between the general attractiveness of life for the poorer classes in the Old World and in the New."[1]

There is one possible event that alone will prevent a resumption following the war of our large immigration of the past decade. This is restrictive legislation by the Congress approved by the President of the United States, or, if not so approved, passed over the Presidential veto. These

[1] Bryce: *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II.

representatives of the American people can control the effects of those economic forces that otherwise promise to give us our large immigration of the future. It is imperative that they should set about the task of constructive legislation designed to give to our people a more effective national policy that will control immigration primarily for the welfare of the American nation.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE BASIS OF A NATIONAL POLICY

In developing a national policy of regulating immigration our Federal legislators find the people divided into two principal groups—the restrictionists and those who style themselves "liberal" immigrationists. Each bases its position upon patriotism and humanitarianism. Supporting one or the other are large numbers whose attitude is determined by their economic or class or racial self-interest and instincts. Just which group is the stronger numerically there are no means of knowing and we shall probably never be able to find out. That each is strong and powerful, however, is abundantly attested by the struggle in recent years before Congress and the President in the attempts to enact into law the literacy test. While restrictive in its operation, this test is nevertheless as much selective as are the physical, mental, and moral qualifications now required of immigrants; it merely adds to these an educational qualification and by so doing increases the classes of "undesirables."

No other test tending to restrict the volume of immigration is likely to bring these two groups any closer together in agreement upon a policy.

The "liberal" immigrationists, for the greater part, are of the opinion that the national government has already gone as far as it should go in the direction of restriction. Their opponents are as positive in the belief that the welfare of the country requires much greater and more effective restrictive regulations.

Very few, if any, restrictionists would exclude all immigrants. It is equally a fact that the "liberal" immigrationists would not admit all immigrants. The latter group believes there are some aliens who should be excluded just as the former group admits that there are some immigrants who should be permitted to come in freely. The crux of their disagreement is in the application of tests to determine where the line of admission and rejection shall be drawn. Just how far shall we go in discriminating among all the applicants as to who are to come in and who stay out? Any possible method adopted would permit some to come in who should be kept out and would keep out others who should come in. In other words, no possible human device will keep out all who should be kept out and at the same time admit all who should be admitted. The intention of the American people in this direction, in so far as they have expressed that intention, is reflected in the laws already on the statute book.

These laws provide for the exclusion of the following classes of aliens:

Idiots, imbeciles, the feeble-minded, epileptics, the insane,

those who have been insane within five years, and those who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time.

Paupers and persons likely to become a public charge;[1] professional beggars.

Persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease.

Persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living.[1]

Persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude.[2]

Polygamists or persons who admit their belief in the practice of polygamy.

Anarchists or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials.

Prostitutes or women or girls coming for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who are supported by or who receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution; persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose.

Contract laborers who have been induced or solicited to

---

[1] An alien liable to be excluded because likely to become a public charge or because of physical disability other than tuberculosis or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease may, if otherwise admissible, nevertheless be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor upon giving a suitable and proper bond in such amount and containing such conditions as he may prescribe, to the people of the United States, holding the United States or any state, territory, county, municipality, or district harmless against such alien becoming a public charge.

[2] If otherwise admissible, persons convicted of an offense purely political and not involving moral turpitude are not excluded.

migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in the United States of any kind, skilled or unskilled.[1]

Those who have been, within one year from the date of application for admission to the United States, deported as having been induced or solicited to migrate.

Any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly.[2]

All children under sixteen years of age unaccompanied by one or both parents, at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor or under such regulations as he may prescribe.

Skilled or unskilled alien laborers possessing passports issued by foreign governments to proceed to countries or places other than continental United States who use such passports to gain entrance to the United States to the detriment of labor conditions in this country.

All aliens who shall enter the United States except at the seaports or places designated by the Secretary of Labor.

Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent.

The personal characteristics or defects the possession of which causes all aliens regardless of

[1] Skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country. The provisions of the law applicable to contract labor do not exclude professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants.

[2] This provision does not apply to the tickets or passage of aliens in immediate and continuous transit through the United States to foreign contiguous territory.

race to be excluded under the present laws can be conveniently grouped into five classes. These are mental, physical, moral, political, and economic.

However strongly any group of American citizens might oppose an extension of the law to exclude classes of aliens not now affected, it is not probable that they would contend for less strict regulations as to the mental, physical, and moral defectives. That it is not only the right but also the duty of our National Government to protect its citizens from such diseased immigrants is not denied, and action to this end is not opposed by any sane person. Nor is there any large or important element of the public that contends for the admittance of the politically defective—the criminal, the anarchist, the assassin.

It is primarily over aliens whose characteristics bring them within reach of economic causes of exclusion that the struggle for further restrictive regulation is today being waged. As to paupers, professional beggars, and those likely to become public charges, nearly all are agreed that it is no part of the duty of the United States as one of the family of nations to support these derelicts of other countries. Against these, too, the National Government has a duty in the protection of its own citizens. All this is usually and generally perceived and granted.

But it is not so clearly perceived that it is equally the duty of the National Government to protect the great mass of its citizen-workers from the economic disease of a low standard of living.

This protection is necessary because it is upon this standard that rest all the institutions which so strikingly distinguish our government and people from the other governments and peoples of the world. It is this standard that is at the very foundation of whatever success has come to this people in establishing and preserving a democratic society and republican institutions. It is upon this standard that rests fundamentally the educational, political, religious, and broad social life of the American people. Undermine or lower this standard and the very foundation stone of American democracy is weakened.

It is this belief that lies back of the attempts to extend the present laws so as further to restrict immigration. These attempts are met by the opposition of those who believe that we should halt our regulation policy where it is at present. This difference is radical. One group regards as dangerous to the country and its institutions the coming here of immigrants with a low standard of living. These it is aimed to keep out by means of the literacy test. The other group claims that the aliens this test would exclude are a source of strength to the country and not of danger. Here is a division where one side lays the emphasis on the evils of immigration and the other on the benefits of immigration. Neither point of view furnishes vantage ground upon which to base a national immigration policy.

It was partly because of the prevalence of this wide difference in point of view that Congress

created the Immigration Commission to find out what the economic facts really are. It presented these facts in detail in its voluminous report. And upon these facts the commission places a broad, patriotic interpretation as to the policy their significance demands should be adopted. This policy is the application of a test that will protect our native industrial toilers from the low-wage and low-standard-of-living competition of the immigrant. And the test that will best do this is the requirement that the alien shall be able to read.

In its interpretation of the facts which its investigation disclosed, the commission takes into consideration the broad economic ground underlying the contention of both the restrictionist and the "liberal" immigrationist. "The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country," says the commission, "is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its exports and imports unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development."

The commission perceives clearly the fact that "the development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low

standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment." In recommending further restrictive legislation based primarily upon economic considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people, eight of the nine members of the commission agreed upon the literacy test.

Since this commission made its report another congressional commission has also made an investigation of industrial conditions as affected by immigration. This is the Commission on Industrial Relations, which was created by Congress in 1912 for the purpose of discovering "the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation." In reporting its conclusions to Congress in 1915, this commission makes these significant statements:

> With the inexhaustible natural resources of the United States, her tremendous mechanical achievements, and the genius of her people for organization and industry there can be no natural reason to prevent every able-bodied man of our present population from being well fed, well housed, comfortably clothed, and from rearing a family of moderate size in comfort, health and security.
>
> It is evident both from the investigations of this commission and from the reports of all recent Governmental bodies that a large part of our industrial population are, as a result of the combination of low wages and unemployment, living in a condition of actual poverty. How large this proportion is can not be exactly determined, but it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of

the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition.[1]

The majority report of the Commission on Industrial Relations states that the evidence presented to it is the basis for the following statements:

1. The immigration policy of the United States has created a number of our most difficult and serious industrial problems and has been responsible in a considerable measure for the existing state of industrial unrest.

2. The enormous influx of immigrants during the past twenty-five years has already undermined the American standard of living for all workmen except those in the skilled trades, and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as rapidly as food prices.

3. The great mass of non-English-speaking workers, who form about one-half of the labor force in the basal industries, has done much to prevent the development of better relations between employers and employees.

4. The presence of such a large proportion of immigrants has greatly hampered the formation of trade unions and has tremendously increased the problem of securing effective and responsible organizations.

5. The unreasonable prejudices of almost every class of Americans toward the immigrants, who form such a large proportion of the labor force of our industries, has been largely responsible for the failure of our Nation to reach a correct understanding of the labor problem and has promoted the harshness and brutality which has so often been manifested in connection with industrial disturbances. It has been, and to a large measure still is, felt possible to dismiss the most revolting working conditions, the most brutal treatment, or the most criminal invasions of personal rights by saying, "Oh, well, they are just ignorant foreigners."

[1] Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, pp. 9 and 10.

6. If immigration had continued at the average rate of the past ten years it would have proved almost, if not quite, impossible to have brought industrial conditions and relations to any proper basis, in spite of the most extreme efforts of civic organizations, trade unions, and Governmental machinery. The great diminution of immigrants as a result of the European War, has already begun to show its salutary effects.[1]

In view of the facts disclosed by its investigation the Commission on Industrial Relations recommends the enactment of legislation providing for the restriction of immigration based upon the general provisions contained in the Burnett-Dillingham bill. This is the bill which has received the approval of two successive Congresses and has been vetoed by Presidents Taft and Wilson. "With a full realization of the many theoretical objections which have been urged against the literacy test," says the commission, "the consensus of evidence is so strong that its practical workings would be to restrict immigration to those who are likely to make the most desirable citizens, to regulate immigration in some degree in proportion to the actual needs of American industry, and finally to promote education in Europe, that it seems necessary at least to urge that this plan be given a practical test." [1]

"Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff," said President Roosevelt in his message of December 3, 1901, "but it should also be pro-

[1] Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, pp. 235-236.

tected so far as possible from the presence in the country of any laborers brought over by contract, or those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory." President Roosevelt stated that there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working improvement. One of these objects should be "to secure, by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test, some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens." Another object should be the exclusion of all persons "who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial fields as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the spring of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth. Both the educational and economic test in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the great body politic and social."

The fundamental basis of a national immigration policy, then, should be economic assimilation. This is much more important to us as a people at

the present time than either social or political assimilation, for standard of living is the basis of all other forms of assimilation. And economic assimilation means that immigrants shall not be admitted in such large numbers as to prevent American wages from keeping pace with the steady increase in the American standard of living.

CHAPTER XXIX

IMMIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

No view of immigration that has not for its foundation the assumption that sooner or later the alien is to become an indistinguishable part of the American nation can be accepted by the people of the United States. This it has not been necessary to emphasize heretofore in our history for the simple reason that it has all along been accepted as a matter of course. In the earlier decades there was practically no emigration from this country back to Europe and what little there was developed out of the necessity for aliens to return temporarily to their European home. But they nearly always came back again to reside here permanently and to make this the home of themselves and of their children.

In recent years, up to the outbreak of the European War, there had developed an emigration from our shores back to Europe of stupendous proportions. In 1914, aliens leaving the United States fell only a few thousand short of 650,000. This number of outgoing aliens is greater than the volume of total immigration in any single year prior to 1902 with the exception only of the two years 1881 and 1882.

The meaning of this is that immigration has developed a very large stream of aliens coming here only temporarily to take advantage of economic conditions and returning to Europe when those conditions are less promising. They do not come with any intention of making this country their future home. This characteristic development of recent immigration alters completely the essential meaning to us of immigration as conceived in the past, although the word name of the economic phenomenon is the same. In consequence, immigration today requires a different avenue of approach if we are to understand its true significance to the American nation. This significance lies in the fact that a large volume of our immigration does not come here to be assimilated into our national life.

The prominence in recent years of the immense increase in this temporary or seasonal immigration, Professor Fairchild says, has radically modified the industrial aspect of the situation as it is presented in the United States. "In consequence, so complete has been the alteration in the circumstances surrounding the admission of aliens to this country, as to require that the entire immigration situation be considered in the light of present conditions, rather than of past history. The old stock arguments, *pro* and *con*, which seem to have stood the test of time, need to be thoroughly reviewed. The modern immigrant must be viewed in the setting of today"[1] and not sur-

[1] Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 380.

rounded in imagination by the background of earlier immigration.

Such a conservative journal as the *New York Evening Sun* perceives this. It says:

America is one thing, and America overlaid or interlarded with large slices of the most ignorant and unreliable portions of Europe is another. And the indeterminate factor in the coming years—the coming issue—is the question of how much further we can permit free, unsifted immigration. Our current immigration both raises the most serious problems now forming for governmental solution, and also, by lowering the intelligence of the electorate, furnishes the gravest hindrance to their solution. The sudden eruption of the gaunt figure of syndicalism in our labor troubles is the most ominous sign of the times. We have had our strikes a-plenty in the past, but the first considerable development of an actually revolutionary spirit comes today, and comes, as lately at Lawrence and now at Paterson, among the un-American immigrants from southern Europe.

The question is not one to be settled in a day or in a year. We shall doubtless have it with us for a long while to come. But we think the time is ripe for a very serious debate upon the problem and actually for a beginning of restrictive measures. The first brute need for hands to lay open an unexplored continent has unquestionably passed. Such need as remains must be balanced against the paramount need for minds to govern a highly developed nation.

The time has come when some restrictive plan must be devised and planned. The question admits of no division between capitalist and laborer. It has passed beyond the range of purely economic discussion and entered a field wherein all Americans must unite to grapple with a serious threat against the solidarity of the Nation.

In more ways than one the present and the near future seems likely to offer years of unusual test for the Republic in which we live. A desire to experiment with the iridescent

toy of pure democracy has already disturbed the workings of representative government in various parts of the country. And impatience with courts and constitutions may well cause graver confusion. The actual evil from such experiments may not be great, and every try at pure democracy contains a fresh demonstration of the futility of such reversion to primitive methods in a modern state. Nor have we any patience with those gloomy dyspeptics who consider that American political sense has gone to the dogs. It hasn't—and it is a pleasure to observe it attacking the new problems at once with zest and patience.[1]

Heretofore in our history we have confined our national immigration policy largely to the questions of admission, deportation, and selection, and to the perfection of administrative machinery for securing the proper enforcement of the statutes. The geographical and economic distribution of the aliens has been largely ignored by the National Government or at least treated in only a superficial manner and with suspicions even as to this. The education of the alien in the duties of citizenship has also been virtually ignored and left almost entirely in the hands of private and philanthropic agencies. As far as protecting the alien and seeing that he is surrounded by an environment conducive to his assimilation, the Government has been even more neglectful if this were possible. While the education and protection of the alien is more properly within the province of the separate states, at the same time there exists a wide field of usefulness for the National Government. And into this domain it must enter

[1] *New York Evening Sun*, March 28, 1912.

if it is to protect its people from many of the evils of recent immigration.

The effects of the European War in temporarily cutting off the immigration stream make it no less necessary now than before the beginning of hostilities that the United States still further extend its policy of regulation in the direction of restriction. If anything, this action has become all the more imperative in that there have developed within this country as a consequence of the war a whole series of problems flowing out of immigration which heretofore have been almost entirely neglected.

With startling suddenness, like the rapid shifting of scenes on a moving picture screen, the effects flowing out of the war have brought to public attention aspects of immigration that heretofore have been regarded with unruffled complacency. Our eyes are now focused upon the problem of assimilation. It has consciously become all of a sudden of the very greatest importance to us as a nation that the immigrants whom we have welcomed into our society to participate in the duties and blessings of our institutions should be an integral part of that society and not foreign to it. We have found that our forces for assimilating this foreign element have not been working as efficaciously as our optimistic ignorance of the facts and our blind complacency as to where they were drifting us have led us to believe; we have learned that these forces need intelligent attention and direction; we have been taught that they must be

given greater vigor if we are to escape the danger of a division among ourselves.

We have suddenly been made to realize that in our midst but not a part of us are large numbers of naturalized or "patented" citizens; that all too many of these give to our country lip-service and not heart-service; that their oath of allegiance is but a means for securing blessings and opportunities and not duties and responsibilities; that their first obedience is to some foreign ruler and government; and that they are not strangers to the hand that stabs in the dark or the lips that betray with a kiss. We have been made conscious of the existence in spirit as well as in name of the hyphenated-American. Of even greater importance, possibly, is the fact that there are millions of alien immigrants among us who have not and who do not intend to become citizens.

In consequence, we have now before us as a nation a wholly new group of problems arising out of immigration. These new problems are so inextricably interwoven into our national destiny, they are so closely a part of the working of our democratic institutions, their solution depends so much upon our powers of social and economic assimilation, and they are so complex in their ramifications that they must be accorded a separate volume to themselves.

In the meantime, in the face of the facts, should we not subordinate sympathy for the immigrant to that higher humanitarianism which holds that America's most supreme duty to mankind is to

make the "Great Experiment" of an educated democracy the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained? Shall we permit sympathy for the immigrant to determine our decision as to the proper course we should take in our policy towards future immigration? By all means, this great movement of peoples should be restricted by legislation within the narrow channel of the legitimate demand of our industries for unskilled labor. It should not be permitted any longer to rush in helter-skelter to flood our American industries with its cheap labor and our industrial centers with its low standard of living.

We should take advantage of today's temporary cessation in immigration to erect proper means of defense against the probable inundation of tomorrow. And as a part of these measures of defense there should be created by Federal legislation such governmental machinery as will, in cooperation with state and private employment bureaus, give us in the future a more or less accurate measurement of the anticipated needs of American industries for this rough, unskilled immigrant labor at the standard or American rate of wages. The demand being thus ascertained, the supply can be regulated to this measurement by legislative enactment through already existing administrative machinery. In this way the present haphazard system, which now invariably operates to produce an over-supply of this labor in all our industrial centers, can be coördinated and made to work for our common good instead of, as now, to

our social injury. Already we have the nucleus around which this machinery can be built. This is the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor of the United States Government. In addition to its reorganization along the lines indicated, it should be given supervision over all private employment agencies and so-called labor exchanges engaged in interstate commerce.

Action along these lines should all the sooner bring us as a people to that goal which is so well pictured by Congressman William Kent of California in his speech in the House of Representatives on the immigration bill. After describing the wealth of a nation as consisting essentially of its natural resources, the intelligently directed industry of its people, and, in the case of a democracy, of a reasonable distribution of the results of resources and labor, he says:[1]

"We can not be called dreamers when we insist that in a country as rich as ours, blessed with an intelligent and industrious population, human needs should be adequately supplied to those who are neither victims of their own folly nor of a fate beyond human remedy. We are safe in assuming that childhood should be sheltered; that playtime and opportunity for education, upon which must rest the welfare of future generations, can and should be supplied; that old age, the inevitable concomitant of years, should be cared for by society, so that no one may look for-

[1] *Congressional Record*, December 15, 1912.

ward to assuming more than his fair share of the risks of life. We are safe in assuming that well applied labor should lead to comfort, to reasonable hours of employment, to freedom from such suffering as is unnecessarily entailed by remedial bad conditions; that the accidents and misfortunes that are to a certain extent unavoidable should be shared by a society that enjoys the benefit of the productive enterprise of each of its members.

"We know perfectly well that these conditions are not met in this nation of abounding wealth. No comfort can be taken in aggregate figures of national wealth so long as those aggregate figures do not point to average well-being, rather than the present tendency toward an increase of undue accumulation on one side of the scale and unnecessary want at the other. We are steadily fighting in the name of democracy and humanity to overcome the inequalities of life in a nation which can abundantly supply a livelihood to all of its citizens.

"The introduction of a vast number of aliens tends to prevent our progress toward real democracy."

INDEX

Advertisements, fines for immigrants brought by, 195-196
Advertising, modern methods of, effect of, on immigration, 58
Age percentage, in recent immigration, 72, 90
Age group, 45-year-and-over, in 1914 immigration, 94-95
Agricultural districts, related to distribution, 301-302
Ahrens, Theodore, quoted, on immigration, 174, 175-177
Albanians, proportion of, in population of Balkan Peninsula, 23
Alien, definition of, 113
Alien and Sedition laws, fines for violation of early, 235
  powers of Congress settled by, of 1798, 246
  reasons for earliest, 284
  requirements of, 235-236
Alien Contract Labor Law, of 1885, defined, 195
  cause for enactment of, 192, 193-194, 253
  compared to protective tariff, 194-195
  enacted through efforts of Knights of Labor, 193
Aliens, non-immigrant, defined, 63, 209
  effect of, on permanent immigration, 87-88, 89
Ambler, D. G., quoted, on immigration, 174, 175-177
American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
American democracy, effects of immigration on, 317, 362
  influence of, on higher standard of living, 191
American Federation of Labor, immigration restriction advocated by President of, 270-271
  President of, quoted, on exploitation of immigrants, 189-190
  resolution of, on literacy test, 258
  resolutions passed by convention of, on immigration restriction, 258-259
American Jewish Committee, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
American Party, formation of, in politics, 244
American people, social and industrial goal of, 361-362
American Republican Associations, organized by Republican Party, 240
Anarchists, excluded, 318
Anti-Catholic riots against immigrants, 237-238
Arizona, anti-alien law of, decision of U. S. Supreme Court on, 203
Armenians, immigration of, from Asia, 22
Asia, immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
  opposition of farmers to immigration from, 259-260
Assimilation, of aliens, neglect of Federal Government toward, 357-358
  economic, basis for national immigration policy, 352-353
  of immigration, not accomplished, 80, 266, 321, 322, 358-359
  relation of, to immigration, 354-362
Austria, early Bohemian immigration from, 81-82
  emigrants from, increased by agents, 43, 56
  exodus from, cause of, 55
  foreign born from, proportion of, in New York City, in 1910, 233
  mother tongue of foreign born from, 1910 census, 333
Austria-Hungary, aliens from, increase in, 216, 339
  departing aliens to, percentage of, in 1914, 66
  foreign born from, proportion of, in newer immigration, 217
  heterogeneous races in, 16-18
  immigrants from, number of, year preceding European War, 13
  peasant of, a harvest for immigration agents, 43

INDEX

Austria-Hungary, position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217, 338
Ruthenians and Slavs in, economic condition of, 158
Austrian Tyrol, different races in, 17
Austrians, proportion of, in Austria-Hungary, 16

Balkan Peninsula, mixed races in population of, 23, 333
Balkan Wars, Greek emigration from U. S. in, 68
Baltimore, foreign paupers in, in thirties, 129-130
natives and aliens in almshouses of, in forties, 130
Bertillon system, Chinese recorded under, 253
Bethlehem, Pa., steel mills of, immigrants in, 226
Bible, use of, in schools, 238
"Birds of Passage," defined, 63
Birth rate, native, effect of immigration on, 179-180, 181
Black-Hand societies, among immigrants from southern Europe, 307
Blackwell's Island, Irish admitted to almshouse of, in 1849, 130 (note)
B'nai B'rith, district president of, quoted, on white slave traffic, 132-133
"Boarding-boss system," described, 165-166
Bohemians, children in immigration of, 66
farm lands owned by, 278
immigration of, in 1914, 20
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
sex distribution in immigration of, 92
Bonds, required of immigrants, 246-247
Bosnians, children in immigration of, in 1914, 65
immigration of, in 1914, 20
Boston, foreign born in, proportion of, to natives, 233
foreign-born paupers in, in 1852, 130 (note)
mob in, in 1837, against Irish immigrants, 238
natives and aliens in almshouses of, in forties, 130
textile mills of, recent immigrants drawn into, 224
Bowery Mission, bread line of, 1908-1909, 310
director of, quoted, on need for farm labor, 308-310
British emigration, decrease of, to U. S., 1860-1880, 30
British emigration, increase of, to U. S., 1841-1860, 29
British Isles, motives of aliens from, in 1820, 192
total immigration and foreign born from, 218
Brownlow, Parson, quoted, on immigration before 1850, 131
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, by, quoted, on immigration, 58, 340
Bulgarians, immigration of, in 1914, 20
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
Bureau of the Census, definition of "foreign born" by, compared to "immigrant" by Bureau of Immigration, 210-211
special report of, on "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904, quoted, 115-116
statistics of, on distribution of immigrants, compared to Bureau of Immigration statistics, 221-224
Bureau of Immigration, created in 1864, 245
Division of Information in the, abolition of, recommended, 259, 260
reorganization of, advocated, 361
immigrants and emigrants, defined under, 69, 207-208, 210-211
inspector of, quoted, on induced immigration, 200-202
report of, on immigration agents, 43-46
1914 Report of, quoted, on waves of immigration, 34-35
reports of, on alien illiteracy, compared to census returns of illiteracy among foreign born, 279
in states, abolished, 306
statistics of, annual flow of immigration tide compiled from, 7
statistics of, on distribution of immigrants, compared to Census Bureau statistics, 221-224
statistics of, a tide gauge, 13, 207
Bureau of Labor, report of, on cost of living of Italian and Hungarian immigrants, 166
Burnett-Dillingham Immigration bill, 125, 351
five criticisms of, summarized in letter of Secretary Nagel to President Taft, 275-279

INDEX

California, immigration legislation in, 247, 249-252
Camorra, existence of the, 121
Canada, foreign born from, 1910 census, 211
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217
well known immigrants from, 139
Carver, Professor, quoted on immigration problem, 52
Catholicism, relation of, to early immigration, 237-238
Catholics, efforts to exclude, from office, 244
present immigration compared to coming of, to America, 46, 50
Chicago, foreign-born population in, proportion of, to natives, 233
slaughter houses of, immigrants in, 226
Child labor laws, influence of increased immigration on, 135
Children, among immigrants, proportion of, 65-66
among total immigration in 1914, proportion of, 119
China, treaty of the Federal Government with, on immigration, 252
Chinese, employment of, on public works, as penal punishment, 250
excluded, 195, 253, 268, 285
Federal acts to restrict immigration of, 252, 253
foreign-born, ineligible to citizenship, 255
immigration accorded to, under treaty of 1868, 249
immigration of, a political issue, 250-251, 252
legislative measures against, in California, 249-252
opposition to, on Pacific Coast, 268
percentage of, receiving hospital treatment, 101
recent immigrants from Europe, compared to, 268
recorded under Bertillon system, 253
result of selective policy toward, 254
work of, in industrial progress, 144
Chinese Exclusion Law, 195
Cities, concentration of immigrants and foreign born in, 232-234, 277, 323
foreign-born population located in, percentage of, 232, 233
Cities, growth in population of, due to foreign-born element, 233
time arrival of immigrants, residing in, in 1910, 232
total population located in, percentage of, 232
Civil War, effects of, on opposition to immigration, 245-246
employers' view of immigration, compared to slavery before, 174-175
immigration tide during, 10
standard of American labor higher than before, 190
Clay, Henry, immigration an issue in election defeating, 242
Cleveland, foreign-born population and natives in, 233
Cleveland, President, immigration bill, vetoed by, 256, 273-274
Congressional votes on, 290-291
literacy test in, 263
objection of, to literacy provision, 283, 284
veto message of, on immigration bill, quoted, 273-274, 288-289, 326
Clothing trade, fluctuation of alien workers in, 41
Coal miners, restricted immigration needed for, in U. S., 171
Coal mines, fluctuation of alien workers in, 41
Commission on Industrial Relations, Report of, quoted, on immigration restriction, 349-351
Commissioner-General of Immigration, immigration bill recommended by, 265
report of, on inadequacy of immigration law, 105-106
1912 Report of, quoted, on immigration restriction, 271-272
1914 Report of, quoted, on researches of Division of Information, 302-303
quoted, on mentally deficient aliens, 102
Commissioners of Emigration of New York City, duties of, 246-248
Commons, Professor John R., *Races and Immigrants in America*, by, quoted, on induced immigration, 57-58
Congress, immigration bills before, three presidential vetoes upon, 273-282

INDEX

Congress, immigration laws passed by, since Supreme Court decision, 287-288
literacy-test provision before, 8, 255, 256, 273, 316
significance of votes of members of, on immigration bills, 290-299
opposition to immigration in memorials to, 241-242, 261-262, 306-307
powers of, to regulate immigration, opinion of United States Supreme Court, on, 248
report of Immigration Commission to, 255-256
Congressional Record, literacy-test petitions, number of, according to, 261-262
Connecticut, opposition in, to enfranchising aliens, 237
Connellsville, Pa., coke region of, immigrants in, 226
Contagious diseases, aliens suffering from, debarred in 1914, 100
Contraband aliens, results of immigration service in exclusion of, 109
Contract labor, excluded, 59, 196-197, 202
opposition against, 72, 192, 193-194, 195, 253, 286
provision against, in vetoed immigration bills, 264
Contract labor laws, defects in interpreting, 198-200
effects of, on industrial conditions in South, 176-177
violations of, 197, 202
Cotton operatives, importation of in fifties, 194
Country of origin, not identical with race solidarity, 14, 27
race and, of recent immigration, compared, 332-334
Coxey's armies, reason for, 168
Crime, definition of, 118
a question of age, 118
an urban phenomenon, 117
Criminal insane, in New York State, percentage of foreign born among, 124
Criminality, charge of, against immigrants, 116-122
Criminals, larger number of, among immigrants, explained, 118-119
Croatians, immigration of, in 1914, 20
in 1914 immigration, going to Ohio and Pennsylvania, 224
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
Czechs, immigration of, in 1914, 18
Dalmatians, immigration of, in 1914, 20
Dannanbaum, Henry J., quoted, on white slave traffic, 132-133
Danube, non-Slavic population along the, caused by waterway, 22
Defectives, excluded in 1914, 100, 104
Delaware, powder mills of, immigrants in, 226
Democratic institutions, influence of ignorant immigrants upon our, 186
involved in new immigration problems, 359
permanency of, 126
standard of living, influence of, in preserving, 347
Democratic Party, attachment of Irish to, 240-241
immigration restriction, a platform of, in 1896, 257, 298-299
"native Americanism" denounced by, 240-241
Democrats, vote of, in House of Representatives on Wilson veto of immigration bill, 298
Denmark, immigrants from, year preceding European War, 14
total immigration and foreign born from, in 1910, 217
Department of Justice, principles in interpretation of contract labor laws by, 198-199
Department of State, Bureau of Immigration created in, in 1864, 245
Dependents, Italians among, excluded in 1914, 100
Dependents and defectives, among immigrants excluded in 1914, 104
Deportation, law providing for, defined, 110-111
Detroit, foreign-born population in, and natives, 233
number of immigrants entering, in forties, 227
Dillingham, Senator, quoted, on defects in present immigration law, 200
Distribution, attitude of U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration toward, 310-311
difficulties in way of, of immigrants, 303, 310-311
failure of, cause of, 311-312
throughout South, 304-307
geographical and economic, ignored by Federal Government, 357

Distribution, of immigrants, efforts made by various states for, 307-310
in industrial centres, not on farms, 225, 232, 311
unaffected by efforts of Bureau of Immigration, 303-304
machinery of, tried prior to Taft veto, 303
a remedy for immigration problem, 300-312
tendency of schemes of, to increase immigration, 311
Division of Information, in Bureau of Immigration, organization and purpose of, 302-303
Düsseldorf, causes of emigration from, 56

Earl, John C., quoted, on need for farm labor, 308-310
Ebb tide, of immigration, defined, 74-82
Ellis Island, Commissioner of Immigration at, quoted, on events after European War, 327-328
control of insanity and feeblemindedness, by eliminating defectives at, 125
deposits of money at, to evade immigration law, 152
examination of immigrants at, inadequate, 107
Government officials at, 84
immigrants entering, proportion of, 84
maximum entry of immigrants at, in 1907, 84-85
misconceptions of immigrants passing through, 60
need for diverting immigration from, 301-302
Elmira Reformatory, reason for number of aliens in, 107
"Emigrant Aid Company," origin of, 227-228
Emigrant and Old Countryman, The, quoted, on aliens' purchase of land, 81
on distribution of agriculturists, 225-226
Emigrants, an article of importation, 193
illegal, piloting of, from country of origin, 44-45
insuring, against rejection at U. S. ports, 45-46
Emigrants' Information Office, governmental reports of, on slavery, 230
Emigration, of aliens, significance of, 79, 80
amount of, in 1910 and 1913, compared, 206
Emigration, amount of, from United Kingdom, after battle of Waterloo, 331
annual, 1907-1915, 76, 205, 206
cause of, not identical with that of immigration, 28
character of, not determined by country of origin, 22
desire for ownership of land, effect of, on, 82-83
European War, effect of on, 78
flood-tide of, 78
fluctuations in, effects of, on net and total immigration, 205, 207
gauge for, 75, 76, 207
general conditions of, 28-29
governmental regulation of, in relation to economic conditions in U. S., 338
induced, from Russia, results of investigation on, 201
industrial depression, effect of, on, 76, 77
months of largest and smallest, 75
movements of, and immigration, in inverse ratio, 77-78
seasonal movements in, 69, 75
temporary, 1908-15, 70
temporary immigration on, effect of, 74
tidal forces in, defined, 76-77
from U. S., defined, 74
1900-1910, 211
serious phase of immigration problem, 78
to U. S. in early days and now, 354, 355-356
Emigration, Emigrants and Know-Nothings, quoted, on Alien Contract Labor Law, 193-194
Employers, proper attitude of, toward immigration, 267-268
relations between, and employees, as affected by non-English-speaking immigrants, 350
usual view of immigration held by, 173-178, 262
view of, in fifties, on unrestricted immigration, 194
Employment bureaus, State and private, labor needs anticipated by, 360
England, emigration from, in eighties, 28-30
departing aliens, percentage of, to, in 1914, 66
foreign born and total immigration from, in 1910, 217
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
operatives imported from, to prevent rise of wages, 194

INDEX

English, in age group in immigration in 1914, 91
among contract laborers excluded in 1914, 202
among dependents excluded in 1914, 100
prostitutes among, debarred in 1914, 103
skilled workers among, in 1914 immigration, 147
Ettor, Joseph J., quoted, on induced immigration, 54
Eugenics, application of, to defective aliens, 125
Europe, agents in, established by western states, to aid emigrants, 226-227
annual number of aliens from, preceding peace of, in 1815, 330
conditions of emigration from, 28-29, 35, 37-38, 49-50, 55
distress in, after Napoleonic wars, 330-331
emigration back to, influenced by temporary immigration, 74
in early days and now, 354 355-356
enormous populations of countries in, 337-340
farmers opposed to present immigration from, 259
immigrants from, kind of, in forties, 130, 243
number of, year preceding European War, 13
southeastern, percentage of, illiterate, 269
immigration from, and emigration to, during spring months, 96
geographical sections of, compared, 14-16
southeastern, unassimilated, 266
southern and eastern, increase in, due to artificial immigration, 57
induced immigration caused by steamship companies' agents in, 200
living conditions in poverty sections of, 155-159
low wages, paid in, effect of, on unskilled laborers, 154-155
lower wages in, and wages in United States, after the war, 336
money value of immigrants in 1914 from all geographical sections of, 91
northern, reason for decreased immigration from, 181
northern and southern, immigrants from, compared, 65, 80, 216, 268
Europe, rapid transmission of news to, effect of, on demand for labor, 41, 42-43, 55
Slavs in population of, 21
slums of, competition of American labor with, 172
southeastern, immigrants from, illiterate, 269.
low standard of living of workers of, 163
total immigration returning to, percentage of, 188
European environment, effect of, on criminal instincts of immigrants, 121
European revolutionary period, wars of, immigration after, 331-332
European War, capital for, borrowed in U. S., 329
domestic manufacturers concerned over outcome of, 329
economic conditions after, 327-328, 334-335
effects of, on emigration, 78-79
on immigration, 5, 6, 11, 327-341, 351, 358
emigration from U. S. up to outbreak of, 354
immigration, after, effected by economic conditions in U. S., 335-337
only means to check, 340
preceding, compared to populations of countries represented, 337-340
to U. S., year preceding outbreak of, 3, 13
money deposits from America up to outbreak of, 162
new immigration problems arising out of, 358-359
significance of unemployment in cities just before, 187
soldiers killed in, compared to remaining populations of Europe, 337-340
temporary immigration, at opening of, 71
on wages in Europe, effects of, 336
Excluded classes, of aliens, 99-101, 105, 284-285, 343-346
number of, in 1914, 100
Exclusion laws, difficulty of enforcing, 108-109

Factory laws, influenced by increased immigration, 135
need for, in South, 136
Fairchild, Professor Henry P., *Immigration*, by, quoted, on volume of immigration, 8
on artificial immigration, 60-62

INDEX

Fairchild, Professor Henry P., on contract-labor clause of immigration law, 199
on displacement of American labor by immigrants, 179-180, 181
on industrial effects of immigration problem, 355
on significance of standard of living, 191
Farm labor, amount of, in 1912 immigration and emigration, 279
immigrant, defined, 148-149
Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, immigration restriction favored by, 259-260
Federalists, attitude of, on enfranchising aliens, 237
Federation of Italian Societies, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Feeble-minded, percentage of, in defectives debarred in 1914, 101
Feeble-minded children, alien, in New York City, 107
Females, age and marital state of, in immigration in 1914, 92
proportion of, to permanent immigration, 91-93
Finns in age group in 1914 immigration, 91
in 1914, from Russia, 16
Flood tide, of immigration and emigration, 78
Foreign born, among criminal insane in New York State, 124
deaths among, number of, 1900-1910, 213
decrease of, in U. S., 213, 218
distinction between, and immigrant, 210-211
distribution of mentally deficient, in institutions, 125
immigration of, since 1905, percentage of, to total immigration, 6
increase of, from Roumania, 339
in U. S., 1851-1880, 1900-1910, 219
money sent abroad by, amount of, 91
mother tongue of, in U. S., 1910 census, 332, 333
paupers among, in 1850, 130 (note)
in a state, relation of, to immigration into state, 220, 221
no statistics of, now naturalized citizens, 88
in U. S., from "older" and "newer" immigration, 214-219
Foreign-born citizens, farm lands of U. S. acquired by, 278-279
Foreign-born population, in cities, percentage of, 1910 census, 232
city concentration of, significance of, 233
enumerated by the 1910 census, 211
illiteracy among, compared to alien illiteracy, 279
increase of, 1851-1880, 1900-1910, 213, 219, 225
proportion of, 1900-1910, distributed in North Atlantic States, 224
from Turkey in Europe and Asia, 339
in U. S. from Europe, 339
net differences in addition to, 1907-1915, 205, 206
in New York City, proportion of, to total population, in 1910, 233
from Russia, Italy and Austria, in 1910, 232, 233
percentage of, to immigration, 1851-1880, 1900-1910, 218-219
position of Austria-Hungary as contributor of, in U. S., 338
race distribution among paupers in, in 1904, 115-116
relation of increased immigration to, 213-219
relation of, to municipal government, 234
in southern states, percentage of, 304
in U. S., according to 1910 census, 3, 4-5, 211-213
previous to census of 1900 and 1910, 211
violations of law, among, 118
Foreign-born whites, number of, arriving after 1900, residing in cities and rural communities, 232
"Foreign" quarters, origin of, in industrial centres, 232
Franchise, civic effects of giving, to aliens, 240, 244
extension of, to aliens, opposed, 237
French, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
prostitutes among, debarred in 1914, 103
French emigration, increase of, to U. S., 1841-60, 29

Garment workers, effects of immigration on, 193
first national labor union started by, 193

German-American Alliance, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
German emigration, increase of, to U. S., 1841-60, 29
Germans, arrival of, in 1914, from Russia, 16
contributions of, to American life, 139-144
farm lands owned by, 278
prostitutes among, debarred in 1914, 103
purpose of, in immigrating in 1869, 81
skilled workers among, in 1914 immigration, 147
Germany, departing aliens to, percentage of, in 1914, 66
destination of early immigrants from, 225
emigration from, determined by economic conditions in U. S., 30-31
immigrants and foreign born from, compared to those from Russia, 214-215
immigration from, year preceding European War, 13
option given to criminals sentenced in, years ago, 131
position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217
total immigration compared to foreign-born population from, 214-216, 217-218
"Golden Age, The," in American history, defined, 35
Gompers, Samuel, quoted, on the exploitation of immigrants, 189-190
quoted, on immigration restriction, 270-271
Great Britain, position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217
Greece, females and males, proportion of, in immigration from, in 1914, 68
temporary immigration from, 67-68
total immigration from, in 1914, 24
Greeks, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
number of, admitted to U. S., in 1914, 24
percentage of, excluded in 1914, 100
proportion of, in population of Balkan Peninsula, 23
sex proportion in immigration of, 92
Guide books, for early immigrants, 229-230, 330
Gulf States, immigrants turned from, by slavery, 229-231
Head tax, aliens unable to pay, excluded, 286
amount of, paid by immigrants in 1914, 91
exceptions to immigrants liable for, 209
increase of, effects of, 324
favored by farmers and labor associations, 259, 260
recommended, in immigration bills, by Immigration Commission, 257, 264, 317
levied in New York, declared unconstitutional, 247-248
offset to, 91
Hebrew Sheltering Immigrant Aid Society, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Hebrews, in 1914, from Russia, 16, 24, 158
in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
children in total immigration of, proportion of, 66
by country of birth and race, proportion of, in 1914 immigration, going to various states, 223
among dependents excluded in 1914, 100
among diseased aliens, debarred in 1914, 101
immigration of, in 1914, 24
increased immigration of, 216
prostitutes among, debarred in 1914, 103
sex distribution in immigration of, 92
among skilled workers, in 1914 immigration, 147
Herzegovinians, children in immigration of, in 1914, 65
immigration of, in 1914, 20
"Hoboes," defined, 183
largely American, 180
Holditch, Robert, *The Emigrants' Guide*, by, quoted, on slavery, 230, 330-331
on results of Napoleonic Wars, 330-331
Holland, emigration from, to U. S., decrease in, 32
Homestead Act, favorable to aliens, 245
land policy of U. S. represented by, 167
House of Representatives, importation of paupers considered by, in 1838, 130, 239
members of political parties in, vote of, on Wilson veto, 297-298
vote of, on Taft veto of immigration bill, 292
on Wilson veto of immigration bill, 294

INDEX

House of Representatives, votes of a Republican and Democratic, on literacy-test bill, compared, 295
Howe, Frederic C., quoted, on events after European War, 327-328
Hungarian immigrants, cost of living of, report on, 166
Hungary, emigration from, in 1913, due to steamship ticket agents, 44
  Slovaks from, temporary immigration of, 66-67, 72
Hughes, S. A., quoted, on distribution problem, 301-302
Husband, W. W., quoted, on induced immigration, 200-202
Hyphenated Americans, existence of, in U. S., 359

Illinois, number of immigrants, by country of birth and race, in 1914, intending to reside in, 223
Illiteracy, in immigrants, 277
  and in foreign-born population, compared, 279
  overestimated, 279
  among northern and southern Italians, 270 (note)
  among racial groups of immigrants, in 1914, 269-270
Immigrant, the term, significance of, 114
  various definitions of, compared, 207-211
  and foreign born, distinction between, 210-211
Immigrants, admitted to Baltimore almshouses, in 1831, 130
  age group of present-day, 72, 90, 91, 93, 94-95
  annual number of, in 1837, 239
  from Europe, previous to 1815, 330
  arriving, in winter months, 1909-1912, 98
  assimilation of, lack of, 80, 266, 321, 322, 358-359
  average cost to rear, to 14 years of age, 90
  bonds required of, 246-247
  boys and girls among, in 1914, 95
  characteristics of, analyzed, 49-50, 72, 88-91, 175, 237, 243, 268, 270, 278, 280-281
  civic ignorance of non-union, 187
  competition of, economic results of, 179-191
  contract labor, among, excluded in 1914, 202
  contribution of, to American progress, 138-145
Immigrants, cost of transportation advanced to, 42
  crime analysis among, 119-120, 121
  debarred from U. S., 254
  departing, number of, in 1914, 66
  deported in 1914, 105
  aliens in U. S. three years among, 105
  deported in time of war, 236
  devoted to Catholicism, 153
  diminution of, as result of European War, effects of, 351
  distribution of, failure of, in southern states, 306
  domiciled in U. S., no literacy test for, 276
  early deported, classes of, 235
  education of, in citizenship duties, 357
  at Ellis Island, averse to being aided, 302-303
  employed to lower wage scale, 164-165
  employers would debar, 175-176, 177
  employment of, on public works, 202-203
  entitled to public lands, 226
  entrance of undesirable, due to poor facilities for examination, 106-110
  excluded, kind of, 105, 284-286, 343-346
  from literacy test, 263-264
  exclusion of, existing law on, inadequate, 105-106
  from office, 241, 244
  exploitation and fleecing of, 188-189
  financial efforts to help early, 247
  fines for unlawful admittance of, 197
  geographical distribution of, 221-234
  guide books for, 229-230
  halo attached to motives of, in coming to U. S., 46-53
  head tax on, unconstitutional, 247-248
  ignorance of, as to conditions in U. S., 57
  as to democratic institutions, 239-240, 358
  illiteracy among, 277
  overestimated, 279
  test for, 269
  illiterate, percentage of, 279
  of newer immigration, 269
  importation of, for public works, 239
  skilled, to prevent rise in wages, 194
  improved economic status of, in U. S., 162

INDEX

Immigrants, increase of, in U. S., in 1910 over 1900, 216-217
inducements to, in immigration act of 1864, 245
industrial adaptability of, 148-150
industrial centres, distribution of recent, in, 225-227, 232, 311
among insane, in New York State Hospitals, 124
intended permanent residence of, according to states, 221-225
Italian and Hungarian, cost of living of, 166
liable for head tax, 209
list of, from vessels at port of departure, 74-75
low economic status of arriving, 162-163
males and females, in arriving, 64-65, 81, 91-93
maximum number of, examined daily at Ellis Island, in 1907, 84-85
medical attention given to, temporarily unfit, 101
money brought in by, amount of, in 1914, 90, 150-151
motives of early, and present-day, significance of, 71, 81, 166-167, 192, 286-287, 311-312
net gain in, 1907-1915, 206
from northern and southern Europe, compared, 268
not intending to become citizens, 359
number of, 1820-1910, 211
in 1882, 1903, 6
in 1912, 279
in 1914, 85
from Austria-Hungary, 339
examined at Ellis Island daily, in spring months, 107
induced, debarred from U. S., in 1914, 58
year preceding European War, 13
ocean transportation, effects of, on, 29, 37, 41, 58, 80, 336
occupations of, in 1914, 146
older and newer races among, compared as to monetary unit brought, 150-151
foreign born in U. S. to-day from, 218
in pauper population, proportion of, in 1838, 130
penalties imposed on, brought by advertisements, 195-196
permanent, classes of, in 1912, 279
racial character of, deported in 1914, 112
Immigrants, distribution of newer and older, in cities, 233
groups of, in 1914, illiteracy among, 269-270
rational distribution of, 300
recent European, compared to Chinese, 268
refusal of, to go far for temporary employment, 303
selected shipload of, temporary distribution of, into South Carolina, 305
sex distribution of, in 1914, 90, 91, 92-95
present-day immigrants, 72
sexually immoral, need for exclusion of, 104
social environments of, before coming to U. S., 150-159
state legislation against, in California, 251
sympathy for, subordination of, needed, 359-360
temporary departures of, proportion of, in 1914, 69
time arrival of, residing in cities, in 1910, 232
significance of, among different races, 217
total number of, from 1820-1910, 211
under 14 years, in 1914, 94
underselling labor power of, 165-166
U. S., political asylum for, 280
welfare of, influenced by artificial immigration, 60
well known, in U. S., 139-140, 142-143
white slave traffic amid Jewish, 132-133
willing to do work refused by natives, 277
work of, in opening up the West, 144, 226-229
Immigration, advantages of, fallacy in, 135, 186, 326
age group, 45-year-and-over, in, in 1914, 94-95
age percentage in recent, 73
on American labor, effects of, 7, 9, 72, 150, 158-159, 162-169, 170-178, 179-191, 194, 202-203, 250-252, 257, 266-269, 317, 348, 350
annual, 1907-1915, 205, 206
flow of, 1886-1915, 86-87
waves of, since 1820, 34-35
argument for unrestricted, fallacy in, 183-184
artificial, 52, 57, 60-62
assimilation of, defined, 354-362
literacy test for purpose of, 321
authority to control, vested only in Federal Government, 203, 248

Immigration, a basal force in American labor movement since 1820, 192-193
benefits of, voiced by "liberal immigrationists," 347
a business enterprise, 41-46
campaign for non-restriction of, 47-48
care of insane in New York State, effected by increase of, 124-125
Catholicism, relation of, to early, 237-238
charges of criminality against earlier and present, 116-120, 127-131
chief ports of entry for, 84
secondary causes of, 37-38, 43, 54-57
Chinese, excluded, 195, 253, 268, 285
opposition to, on Pacific Coast, 249-252, 254, 255, 268
contributory cause to industrial depression, 76
decline in, distinct from emigration, 74
defined, 1
distribution of new problem of, solved by agricultural districts, 301-302
in relation to industrial conditions, 277-278
schemes, increase, 311
earlier, and newer, compared, 81-83, 326, 337-340
geographical, in 1914, 222, 232
early view of, utilized by business enterprises, 47
ebb tide of, defined, 74
economic competition of present, and earlier, 166-167
conditions in United States, effect of, on, after the war, 335-337
effects of, operative in 1820, 192
on employers and wage earners compared, 172
on garment workers, in 1869, 193
on industrial native population, 135-136
on industrial unionism, 193
forces, simultaneous effects of, on, and emigration, 77-78
encouraged by various states, 245
after European revolutionary period, 331-332
European War, effects of the, on, 5, 11, 327-341
evils of, effects of literacy test on, 319
not helped by distribution, 311-312
voiced by restrictionists, 347
Immigration, financial significance of, increased, to steamship companies, 58
flood-tide of, 78
fluctuations in volume of, caused by agents, 42
from geographical sections of Europe, compared, 14-16
good elements in, 138
greater amount of pauperism and crime due to, 122
highest point of, 86-87
importance of, prior to Civil War, 245
increase of foreign-born population, percentage of, to, 1851-1880, 1900-1910, 218-219
increased, by advertising methods, 62
effects of, on panics, 35, 168-169
on social legislation, 135
figures of, misleading, 209
relation of, to amount of foreign-born population, 213-219
induced, inimical to U. S., 258
proportion of, to total immigration, 61
by reports of labor conditions in America, 201-202
responsible for non-immigrant aliens, 63
influence of, on democratic institutions, 186
on strikes, 170
on white slave traffic, 132-133
interstate conferences on, held in South, 304-305
intolerable industrial conditions not due to, 136-137
largest, in past thirty years, 86-87
monthly, in April, 96
a law of, 40, 59
by leading countries, 15
legislative duty of U. S., toward present, 51
literacy-test provision, for restriction of, 8, 200, 256, 265, 271-272, 287, 320-321
machine labor, in relation to, 184-185
male, of today, and families of earlier, 64, 81-82
males, married and unmarried in, in 1914, 64
percentage of, in present-day immigrants, 72
modern, an economic phenomenon, 39, 40
motives in action of U. S. Government toward, 283-284
movements of, and emigration, in inverse ratio, 78
national policy on, 252-253
basis of the, 321, 342-353

Immigration, national policy on, affected by advertising methods, 62
present, 283-284, 285-299, 340, 341, 342-343, 347-348, 350, 357-358
radical departure from, in literacy test, 274, 275, 280, 281, 287-288
neap tide of, defined, 96
newer, percentage of, illiterate, 269
no legislation against, before Civil War, 246
occupational changes in, significance of, 166-169, 225
groups of, in 1914, 147
opportunity of, to social workers, 134-137
opposition to, checked by Civil War, 245-246
reasons for, 236-244
organizations opposed to restriction of, 262
panics of 1873, 1882, 1893, 1907, effects of, on, 36, 37, 75-76, 77, 78-79, 168, 169
pernicious, steamship companies in relation to, 90
a political issue, 237-244, 245, 246, 298-299
present, from Europe, due to promoters, 59
prior to 1850, Civil War, left by Federal Government to states, 246
proper attitude of employers towards, 267-268
public opinion, in favor of restriction of, 257
quality of, compared to earlier, not an argument for literacy test, 325
races in, since 1908, 26
racial groups of, affected by literacy test, 268
recent, enormous European populations supplying, 337-340
going into North Atlantic States, proportion of, 224
races politically dominant in, 331-334
root-cause of, 199
undesirable quality of, 274
report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration, on volume of, 10
restriction of, arguments for, 8-9, 122, 179, 181-182, 191, 240, 270-272, 346, 358, 360
demanded by Native American Association, 243
duty of Federal Government towards, 346-347
favored by farmers, 259
organized labor, 178, 204, 258-260, 271
Immigration, restriction of, favored by patriotic societies, 260
findings of Federal Immigration Commission on, 8-9, 255-256, 265, 288, 289, 324-325, 348, 349
first measures for, 195, 249-250
legislation recommended by Commission of Industrial Relations on, 349, 351
by the literacy test, 255-256
memorialized to Congress, 261-262
pauperism, one reason for, 112-116
a political issue, 240, 257-258
practically effective contract-labor laws in relation to, 199
principle back of efforts to increase, 347
public opinion towards, 249, 257, 258
Senator Root, quoted, on, 265-268
states in favor of, 291-292, 295-297
when needed, 284-285, 321, 356-357
seasonal movements in, 69, 78, 95-98
servant class, numbers of, in 1914, 146, 147-148
sex differences in present, 65,
slavery, influence of, on, 229, 232
smallest, in 1898, 86
social evils resulting from increased volume of, 7-10, 186-187
from unequal sex distribution in present, 92-94
social service, defects in, caused by, 135
in southern states, 136, 231
spring and autumn flow of, by months, 1909-1912, 97
spring tide of, 95-96
on standard of living of American labor, effects of, 158-159, 162-169, 172, 190, 350
into a state, and foreign born in state, 220, 221
state legislation on, 246-247
statistics of, changes in, 6, 208-210
statistics of, changes in, 6
reveal time of panics, 335
early, inaccurate, 239
temporary, 63, 70
in 1914, 70, 71
percentage of, to permanent, 73
temporary cessation in, opportunity offered by, 360

Immigration, temporary character of newer, 218
tide of, analogous to ocean tides, 1-2
subject to economic laws, 1
tide basin of, 98, 205, 220
tide gates of, defined, 84
tide gauge for, 207
tide-rip of, 150, 170-173
total, 1851-1880, 1900-1910, 219
in 1909 and 1908, compared, 206
in 1910 and 1913, compared, 205-207
in 1914, by race and country, 25
annual, in 1913 and 1914, 6 largest and smallest, 96-97 1907-1915, 205, 206
emigration of aliens to Europe, and, 354-355
children, proportion of, in, in 1914, 119
effects of fluctuations in emigration on, 205-207
by months, 1909-1912, 96, 97
percentage of immigration since 1905, to, 6
from Turkey in Europe and Asia, racial groups in, 333
undesirable elements of, 134, 328
Unpopular Review, quoted, as to sentimental viewpoint toward, 48-49
unregulated, up to 1875, 249
two causes influencing, prior to Civil War, 245
unrestricted and restricted, justifications for, 134, 135, 288-289
view of, held by employers, 173-178
volume of, 1905-1907, 6
in 1820, 1825, 1830, and 1832, 330
effects of, on American institutions, 317
literacy test against, 271-272, 320-321, 322
significance of large, to American nation, 355
in spring and winter months, 95-96
year following declaration of European War, 11
Immigration agencies, labor contracts of, 42
in U. S. and Europe, 42
Immigration bills, provisions of the vetoed, 256-257, 263-264
Secretary Nagel's criticisms on one of the, fallacies in, 300-312
Senatorial votes on Presidential vetoes of, by states, 296-297
Immigration bills, speech of Congressman Kent, on, quoted, 361-362
three Presidential vetoes upon, 273-282, 283-285
votes of members of Congress on, 290-299
Immigration Commission, Federal, basis for restricted immigration, reported by, 8, 9, 288, 289
Chairman of, quoted, on induced immigration, 200
findings of, on undesirable aliens admitted, 110
methods for restriction of immigration, suggested by, 255-256, 324-325, 349
purpose of the, 255, 347-348
report of, on displacement of American labor, 182
ignored by President Taft, 316
on national policy toward immigration, 348
on need for labor, 313-315, 316
on permanent residence of aliens, 63-64
on ruined immigrants returning to Europe, 186
on underselling power of immigrant labor, 165-166
vetoed immigration bills based on report of the, 256-257, 264-265
Immigration inspectors, appeals from decisions of, in 1914, 105
increase of, needed under literacy-test provision, 276
Immigration laws, aliens excluded under present, 125-126, 343-346
copies of, in foreign offices of transportation companies, 196
defects in present, 126, 199-200, 352
evasion of, 152, 198-199, 200
view of, by a Southern employer, 176
Immigration legislation, 125, 192, 193-197, 202-203, 235-236, 239, 245, 246, 247, 249-252, 253-254, 256, 263, 268, 273-282, 284, 287-288, 290-291, 316, 351
Immigration problem, distribution as a remedy for, 300-312
emigration from U. S., serious phase of, 78
modified industrial aspect of the, 355-356
new, after European War, 358-359
present and earlier, compared, 53, 289

INDEX

Immigration problem, solution of the, dependent on economic facts, 51-53
temporary immigration, serious factor of, 71
unwisely stated, 127
volume of immigration the crux of, 321, 322
Immigration Restriction League, 258
Immigration restrictionists, motives of the, 325-326
Immigration runners, defined, 44
Immigration service, cost of, 91
results of efforts of, to exclude contraband aliens, 109
Immigration tide, annual ebb of, 1908-1915, 76
annual flow of, during thirty years, 86-87
since 1820, 6-7; since 1886, 87
distribution of, unaffected by efforts of Immigration Bureau, 303-304
ebb and flow of, since 1907, compared, 77-78, 206
economic undercurrents in the, 221
effect of economic forces on, during Civil War, 10
flotsam and jetsam of, 98
gauge for, 207
human derelicts of, defined, 98, 99
main source of, to U. S., 13
racial elements in, and country of origin, 14-27
Independent Order of B'rith Abraham, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Independents, vote of, in House of Representatives on Wilson veto of immigration bill, 298
Indians, social service for, neglect of, caused by immigration, 135
Industrial Workers of World, a leader of, quoted, on induced immigration, 54
Insane, annual new cases of, number of, 126
cost of care of, 126
percentage of aliens, among, in N. Y. state hospitals, 124
in U. S., number of, compared to college students and enlisted men, 126
Insanity, extent of, among foreign born, 123, 124
means of controlling, in U. S., 125
relation of, to old age, 123
International Assoc. of Machinists, president of, quoted, on effects of immigration on American labor, 171-173
Interpreters, enlarged force of, objections to, 276
Ireland, departing aliens to, in 1914, 66
economic condition of peasants in, 160-161, 162
foreign born from, decrease in, 214
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
opposition to immigrants from, 237-238
position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217
total immigration and foreign born, 218
Irish, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
number of, in Blackwell's Island almshouse in 1849, 130 (note)
opposition against the immigrant, 237-238, 239
sex distribution in immigration of, 92
Iron makers, immigrants imported to enforce wage reduction of, 194
Italian immigrants, cost of living of, 166
living conditions of, in Europe, 155-157
vocational groups in temporary, 68
Italian immigration, causes of, 56
sex distribution in, 92
source of, 27
temporary, 68
Italians, among contract labor excluded in 1914, 202
by country of birth and race, in 1914 immigration, settled in various states, 223
debarred in 1914, 102-103
among dependents, excluded in 1914, 100
among diseased aliens debarred in 1914, 101
farm lands owned by, 278-279
feeble-minded, debarred in 1914, 101
immigration of, in 1914, 27
increased since 1880, 216
among "L. P. C.'s," excluded in 1914, 100
north, percentage of, to total Italian immigration, in 1914, 27
among skilled workers in 1914 immigration, 147
southern, percentage of, to total Italian immigration, in 1914, 27
Italy, departing aliens to, in 1914, percentage of, 66
foreign born from, in newer immigration, 217-218

Italy, foreign-born from, in New York City, in 1910, 233
residing in cities, in 1910, 232
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
immigrants from north and south, 27, 157, 270
increased immigration from, 217
position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217

Japanese, foreign-born, ineligible to citizenship, 255
treated in hospitals, 101
Japanese immigration, stopped, 254-255
Jenks, Professor J. W., *The Immigrant Problem*, by, quoted, 8-9
quoted, on immigration of unskilled workers, 181
"Jewish Pale of Settlement," immigration from, in Russia, 24, 158
Jews, in Austria-Hungary, 17
white slave traffic among immigrant, 132-133
Juvenile delinquents, treatment of, 119-120

Kent, Congressman William, quoted, on immigration bill, 361-362
Knights of Labor, Alien Contract Labor Law enacted through efforts of, 193
immigration restriction favored by, 259
"Know-Nothing Party," origin of, 244

Labor, American, displacement of, by immigrants, 179-186
effects of Chinese immigration on, 250-252
immigration on, 7, 9, 72-73, 80, 135-136, 150, 170-178, 179-191, 194, 257, 266-269, 317
industrial antagonism of, toward aliens, 238, 267
necessity for higher wages of, 163, 164
protected by state laws, 202-203, 348
standards of living of, affected by immigration, 158-159, 162-169, 172, 186, 350
influenced by social forces, 164, 185-186
and those of immigrants compared, 160-169, 267, 268-269, 270-271
now and before Civil War, 190
Labor, cheap, seasonal demand for, effect of, on immigration, 69, 72-73, 80
Chinese, legislation against, 249-250, 252, 253
contract, debarred in 1914, 202
definition of excluded, 196-197
excluded from U. S. in 1914, 59
opposition against, 72, 192, 193-194, 195, 253, 286
provision against, in vetoed immigration bills, 264
machine, economic significance of, 184-185
mobile immigrant, effects of, on market price of labor and wages, 73, 80-81
organized, attitude of, toward immigration restriction, 54, 186, 249-251, 258, 259, 271
support of, to literacy test, 204
skilled, amount of, in 1912 immigration and emigration, 279
importation of, allowed by law, 195 (note), 345 (note)
proportion of, in 1914 immigration, 146
and unskilled, official interpretation of, 198
Labor officials, quoted, on effects of immigration's tide rip, 170-173
Labor unions, organized for economic protection, 186-187
Laborers among immigrants in 1914, 146-148
in 1912 immigration and emigration, 279
foreign, distribution of, in relation to labor conditions, 303
Land, Government, early sales of, 225, 226
lack of public, effect of, on labor competition, 169
ownership of, cause of emigration in early forties, 81-83
still undeveloped, 301-302
Lauck, Professor, *The Immigrant Problem*, by, quoted, 8-9
quoted, on displacement of American labor by immigrants, 182
Lawrence, reports of, to foreigners, 54
strikes at, 54, 356
Legislation, on immigration, 125, 192, 193-195, 202-208, 235-236, 239, 246, 247, 249-252, 253-254, 256, 263, 268, 273-282, 284, 290-291, 316, 351

INDEX

Legislation, to measure labor needs of American industries, 360
social, hindered by increased immigration, 135
urged by southern states, 306-307
Liberal Immigration League, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
"Liberal immigrationists," 262, 301, 342, 343, 347-348
Lichliter, M. D., quoted, on distribution of immigration, 308
"L. P. C.'s," bonds for, 246-247, 344 (note)
excluded, 253, 286
in 1914, number of, 100
financial efforts made to prevent immigrants from becoming, 246-247
no duty of U. S. to support, from other countries, 346
present law against, 319-320
Lincoln, President, Homestead Act, signed by, in 1862, 167, 245
Lithuanians, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
in 1914, from Russia, 16
sex distribution in immigration of, 92
Literacy test, advocacy of, reasons for, 8, 199, 270-272, 316, 342
by Industrial Commission, 349, 351
aims of, 200, 255, 271-272, 281, 287, 314, 319, 320-321
arguments against, 316, 318-319
based on principle of selection, 276-277
in bills vetoed by Presidents Cleveland, Taft, Wilson, requirements of, 256-257, 263-272, 278-282, 291
on decrease in unskilled labor, effect of, 322
defects of, 275-276, 318
for domiciled aliens, lack of provision in, 276
enactment of, demanded by organized labor, 204, 258, 259, 260
recommended by Immigration Commission, 265, 315, 348
endorsed by Republican party, in 1896, 257
exemptions to, 263-264, 275-276
favored by Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, 257-258, 352
several states, 291-292, 295-297
members of Congress, in favor of, 273
Literacy test, most feasible method to check evils of immigration, 256, 321, 324-325
opposed by Secretary Nagel, 315-316
petitions to Congress, on, 261-262
Presidential objections to the, 283-285, 286-287
racial groups of immigration affected by, 268
a radical departure from national policy, 274, 275, 281, 285, 286, 287
Republican and Democratic House of Representatives, votes of, on, 295
sixteen Congressional votes on bills embodying, 290
speech of Senator Root, on, quoted, 265-268
struggles of restrictionists and "liberal" immigrationists, on, 342, 347-348
on temporary immigration, effect of, 322-323
unnecessary as a restrictive measure, 313-314
unwise distinction of, in favor of females, 276
on volume of immigration, effect of, 320-321, 322
Living wage, families of wage earners earning less than, in U. S., 349-350
Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of, immigration restriction favored by, 259
Louisiana, early legislation in, on immigration, 247
Low, A. Maurice, *The American People*, by, quoted, on opportunity offered by U. S., 138

Machine labor, economic significance of, 184-185
Machinists, immigrants imported to reduce wages of, 194
restricted immigration on behalf of, 171-173
McKinley, President, in favor of literacy test, 257
McMaster, Professor, quoted, on characteristics of aliens, 239-240
Mafia, the, among immigrants, 121, 307
Magyars, children in immigration of, 66
immigration of, in 1914, 20
in population of Austria-Hungary, 16, 19
proportion of, of 1914 immigration, going to Pennsylvania and Ohio, 224

INDEX

Males, percentage of, in present-day immigrants, 64-65, 73, 81, 91-93
Manifests, required from steamship companies, 11-12
"Mason and Dixon Line," industrial distribution of immigrants, north of, 225
  states south of, recent immigration in, 304
Massachusetts, early legislation in, on immigration, 247
  foreign born among paupers in, in early forties, 130 (note)
  immigrants, in 1914, intending to reside in, 223
Massachusetts Commission on Immigration, report of, on volume of immigration, 10
Matthew, Patrick, *Emigration Fields*, by, quoted, on slavery, 229
Mayo-Smith, Professor, *Emigration and Immigration*, by, quoted, on voluntary emigration, 137-138
Mental defectives, in comparison with native population; 123
  debarred in 1914, 101
  need for supplementary legislation debarring, 102
Mexicans, prostitutes among, debarred in 1914, 103
Mexico, citizens from, not immigrants, 208
  foreign born from, 1910 census, 211
  immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
Michigan, the destination of German immigrants, 225
Militarism, economic conditions after freedom from, in European conflict, 334-335
Mississippi Valley, opportunities offered by, to earlier immigrants, 225
Mitchell, John, quoted, on effects of immigration on American labor, 170-171
Modern labor movement, origin of, 192
"Mollie Maguires," compared to Black-Hand Italians, 121
Monroe, James, platform nominating, averse to aliens holding office, 241
Montenegrins, children in total immigration of, in 1914, 65
  immigration of, in 1914, 20
Moravians, children in immigration of, 66
  immigration of, in 1914, 20
  numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
Moravians, sex distribution in immigration of, 92
Municipal government, progress of, relation of foreign-born population to, 234
Music, contributions of German immigrants to, 142-143

Nagel, Secretary, criticisms of, on immigration, fallacies in, 300-312, 317-318
  letter of, to President Taft, on criticisms of immigration bill, 275-279, 313-314, 315, 318
Napoleonic wars, immigration after, 329-331
  industrial results of, 330-331
National Civic Federation, report of Committee on Immigration of, quoted, on temporary immigrants, 72-73
National domain, legislation concerning, favorable to immigrant, 245
National Grange, immigration restriction favored by, 259
National Polish Alliance, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Naturalization law, repeal of, demanded, in forties, 241, 243, 244
  requirements of, 236
Naturalized citizens, immigrants not intending to become, 359
  influence of social forces upon, 163-164
  no statistics of, among immigrants, 88
  of U. S., not "immigrants," 211
Native American Associations of U. S., organization of, 241, 242, 243, 244
"Native Americanism," defined, 240-241, 244
Neap tide, of immigration, 98
Nebraska, need for farm labor in, exaggerated, 308-309
Negroes, social service for, neglect of, caused by immigration, 135
Neill, Dr. Charles P., quoted, on literacy test, 317
Net immigration, 205-219
  in 1907, 1910, 1915, percentage of, to total immigration, 205
  from 1900-1910, 211
  in 1909 and 1908, 206-207
  in 1912, 279
  in 1910 and 1913, 205-207
  annual, 1907-1915, 205-206
  effects of fluctuations in emigration on, 205-207

New England, conditions of employment in textile mills of, 54, 136
cotton textile industry of, overrun by immigrants, 149
mill towns of, immigration into, 41, 224
New Jersey, proportion of immigrants, in 1914, intending to reside in, 223-224
New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration, 1911 Report of, on exploitation of immigrants, 188-189
New York City, congested condition of, and need for labor in West, 323
construction of subways in, affected by alien labor law, 202-203
foreign-born population in, proportion of, to natives and total population, in 1910, 233
reports from vessels arriving at, on alien passengers, 246
textile mills of, recent immigrants drawn into, 224
unemployed in, 1908-09, 310
New York Evening Post, quoted, on relation of immigration to social workers, 134
New York Evening Sun, quoted, on industrial aspects of immigration problem, 356-357
New York State, alien law of, constitutionality of, 203
aliens, proportion of, to total population in, in 1910, 124
annual appropriation by, for Commissioners of Emigration, 248
bonds required of immigrants in, unconstitutional, 247
city hospitals of, comparison of alien with native insane in, 124
clothing industry of, dominated by immigrants, 149
efforts made in, for distribution of immigration, 307-308
immigrants, in 1914, proportion of, intending to reside in, and going to, 221, 223, 224
legal relaxation of alien labor law, in, for construction of subways, 202-203
legislation in, on immigration, 246-247
natives and foreigners in almshouses of, proportion of, in forties, 130
New York State, one-fourth of revenue of, devoted to care of insane in, 125-126
permanent immigrant settlers in, annually, 125
statistics of insane in hospitals of, in 1911, 124
New York State Immigration Commission, report of, denounced, 260
Newark, foreign born in, proportion of, to natives, 233
Newer immigrant countries, relation of immigration and foreign-born population from, 216-218
Non-immigrant aliens, defined, 63, 209
effect of, on permanent immigration, 1908-1915, 87-88, 89
North Atlantic States, foreign-born population in, increase percentage of, 1900-1910, 224
recent immigration, proportion of, going into, 225
Norway, early emigration from, character of, 81, 82-83
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 14
total immigration and foreign born from, in 1910, 217

Occupational groups, of immigration, in 1914, 147
Ocean transportation, increased facilities in, effects of, on immigration, 29, 37, 41, 58, 80, 336
O'Connell, James, quoted, on effects of immigration on American labor, 171-173
Ohio, bituminous coal mines of, recent immigrants drawn into, 225
European immigrants, by country of birth and race, in 1914, going to, and intending to reside in, 223, 224
Older immigrant countries, aliens from, percentage of, illiterate, 269
relation of immigration and foreign-born population from, 215, 216
sex distribution in immigration from, 92
Omaha, slaughter houses of, recent immigrants drawn into, 226
Oriental, exclusion of the, in California, 250-252

Palmer, F. H., *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, by, quoted, on races in Austria-Hungary, 17

INDEX

Panama Canal, toll policy of, Democratic Party platforms on, and immigration platforms, 298-299
Panic of 1893, significance of lack of unoccupied land at time of, 167-169
Panic of 1907, effect of, on emigration, 75, 78-79, 80
  effect of, on industries, 75
Panics, effects of, on immigration, 35, 36-37, 75-76, 78-79, 168-169
  time of, shown by statistics of immigration, 335
Paterson, strikes at, among immigrants, 356
"Patented" citizens, defined, 359
Paton, Dr. Stewart, quoted, on alien insane, 125-126
Pauperism, defects in statistics of, among aliens, 113-116
  one reason for immigration restriction, 112-116
Paupers, arrival of, in U. S., in 1880, 129
  foreign population among, number of, in 1838, 130
  scheme to rid Great Britain of, 129
Paupers and professional beggars, excluded in 1914, 100
"Paupers in Almshouses," 1904, special report of Bureau of Census, 115
Pennsylvania, anthracite and bituminous coal mines of, recent immigrants drawn into, 224-225
  Constitutional Convention of, foreigners under, prevented from holding office, 241
  efforts made by, to distribute immigration, 308
  European immigration, in 1914, by country of birth and race, going to and intending to reside in, 221-222, 224-225
Permanent immigration, in 1854, 5-6
  age group of, in 1914, 90
  largest tidal wave of, 88
  males in, between ages of 14 and 44, 92
  males and females in, proportion of, in 1914, 90
  races in age group of, in 1914, proportion of, 90-91
  reported destination of nearly three-fourths of total, in 1914, 223-224
  by ten-year periods since 1825, 212
  volume of, in 1907, 36
    increased by non-immigrant aliens, 88
Philadelphia natives and aliens in almshouses of, proportion of, in forties, 130
  textile mills of, recent immigrants drawn into, 224
Pierce-Scott Presidential campaign, of 1852, political pressure first put upon immigrants, in, 243
Poles, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
  arrival of, in 1914, from Russia, 16
  destruction of, as distinct nationality, 18-19
  among diseased aliens debarred in 1914, 101
  farm lands owned by, 278
  immigration of, in 1914, 20
  number of, by country of birth and race, in 1914 immigration going to, and intending to reside in, various States, 223
  numeral strength of, in Europe, 21
Polish-American Catholic Union, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Polish-American Citizens' League, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Political parties, effects of immigration on, 240-241
Polk, James K., immigration a prominent issue in election of, 242
"Poor whites," economic forces, influence of, on, 136
  social service for, neglect of, caused by immigration, 135
Prisoners, statistics of, analyzed, 118
Professional workers, proportion of, in 1914 immigration, 146
  small proportion of, among newer immigrants, 147
Progressives, vote of, in House of Representatives, on Wilson veto of immigration bill, 298
Prostitutes, number of, debarred in 1914, 103
Prostitution, immigration laws against, 249, 254
Public works, employment of aliens on, prohibited in several States, 202-203

Quarantine regulations, established in New York, in 1847, 246-247
  imposed by Federal Government, 253

INDEX

Race domination, significance of, in relation to immigration, 333-334
Races, proportion of different, in 45-year-age group, in 1914 immigration, 90, 94-95
Racial distribution, in cities, of older and newer immigrants, 233-234
among foreign-born pauper population, in 1904, 115-116
Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of, immigration restriction favored by, 259
Railway Conductors, Order of, immigration restriction favored by, 259
Reminiscences of America in 1869, quoted, as to German immigration, 81
Republican Party, attachment of Germans to, reasons for, 240-241
immigration restriction, favored by early, 240
a platform of, 257, 258
Republicans, vote of, in House of Representatives, on Wilson veto of immigration bill, 298
Restrictionists, position of, on national policy on immigration, 342, 343, 347-348
unwise approach toward immigration problem, by, 126-127
Reynolds, James Bronson, quoted, on purity of Jewish women, 132
Ripley, Professor, *The Races of Europe*, by, quoted, on relation between political boundaries and race, 16
Roman Catholicism, immigrants devoted to, 153
Roman Catholics, influx of, objections to, 242
Roman and Greek Catholic Churches in America, officials of, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Roosevelt, President, Immigration Commission appointed by, in 1907, 255
literacy test favored by, 257-258
quoted, on present immigration laws, 351-352
report of the Immigration Commission appointed by, 264-265
Root, Senator Elihu, speech of, on literacy test, quoted, 265-268
Roumania, foreign born from, increase of, 339
residing in cities, in 1910, 232
Roumanians, immigration of, in 1914, 19
proportion of, of 1914 immigration, going to Ohio and Pennsylvania, 224
sex proportion in immigration of, 92
Rural communities, number of foreign-born whites arriving after 1900, residing in, 232
immigrants unwilling to go to, 308
Russia, departing aliens to, percentage of, in 1914, 66
emigration from, due to steamship ticket agents, 43
exodus from, primary cause of, 55
foreign born from, mother tongue of, 1910 census, 332, 333
in newer immigration, 217
population from, in New York City, in 1910, 233
residing in cities, in 1910, 232
Hebrew immigrants from, economic condition of, 158
immigrants from, of younger alien races, 215
year preceding European War, 13
and foreign born, compared to those from Germany, 214-215
immigration from, racial analysis of, 16, 332
increase in aliens from, 1900-1910, 217
investigation in, on induced emigration, 201
position of, as contributor to foreign-born population of U. S., 217
Slavic emigration from, governmental regulation of, 338
total immigration, compared to foreign-born population from, 214-215
Russians, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
children in total immigration of, in 1914, 66
in contract labor excluded in 1914, 202
among dependents excluded in 1914, 100
immigration of, in 1914, 20
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
percentage of, of 1914 immigration, going to New York and Pennsylvania, 224
Ruthenians, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
in Austria-Hungary, economic condition of, 158

INDEX

Ruthenians, immigration of, in 1914, 19, 20
percentage of, of 1914 immigration, going to Pennsylvania and New York, 224

"Sandlot Party," 250-251
San Francisco, foreign-born population in, proportion of, to natives, 233
hospital cases of temporarily unfit at, 101
Scandinavian countries, total immigration and foreign born from, 217
departing aliens to, percentage of, in 1914, 66
Scandinavians, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
emigration of, causes of, to U. S., 33
farm lands owned by, 278
skilled workers among, in 1914 immigration, 147
Scotch, in age group in immigration in 1914, 91
skilled workers among, in 1914 immigration, 147
Scotland, departing aliens to, in 1914, 66
foreign born and total immigration from, in 1910, 217
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
Sea captains, reports from, on foreigners brought over by, 235
Seattle, hospital cases of temporarily unfit, at, 101
Secretary of Commerce and Labor, five criticisms of immigration bill in letter of, to President Taft, 275-279
Secretary of Labor, certificate from transportation companies filed with, 196
Senate, vote of, on Taft veto of immigration bill, 293
Serbians, children in total immigration of, proportion of, in 1914, 65
immigration of, in 1914, 20
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
Servant class, in immigration in 1914, 146, 147-148
in 1912 immigration and emigration, number of, 279
nationalities represented in, in 1914, 147-148
Sex distribution of present-day immigrants, 72, 90, 91, 92-95
Simmons, Senator, quoted, on literacy test, 261
Slav, definition of, 20-21
Slavery, European immigrants turned away by, from Gulf and South Atlantic States, 228-230
guide books for immigrants, advice of, as to, 230-231
influence of, on opposition to immigration, 245-246
relation of, to settlement of the West, 227-228
Slavic Bohemians, Bulgarians, Dalmatians and Moravians, proportion of children in total immigration of, in 1914, 65
Slavic immigration, females to males, in, proportion of, 65, 92
to total immigration, proportion of, 20
Slavic peasants, economic condition of, 153-154, 158
Slavs, in age group of permanent immigration, proportion of, in 1914, 90-91
increased immigration of, since 1880, 216
in population of Balkan Peninsula, 23
to population of Europe, proportion of, 21
subdivisions of, in population of Austria-Hungary, 17-18
two distinct groups of, 21
Slovak Guards, the, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Slovaks, children in immigration of, 66
immigration of, in 1914, 18, 20
of 1914 immigration, proportion of, going to Pennsylvania, 224
numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
sex distribution in immigration of, 92
temporary immigration of, from Hungary, 66
in total population of Hungary, percentage of, 18
Slovenes, numerical strength of, in Europe, 21
Slovenians, immigration of, in 1914, 20
of 1914 immigration, proportion of, going to Ohio and Pennsylvania, 224
immigration of, from southern Austria, 19
Social evils, resulting from increased volume of immigration, 7-10.
unequal sex distribution in present immigration, and, 92-94
Social legislation, hindered by increased immigration, 135

INDEX

Social service, defects in, caused by immigration, 135
Social settlements, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Social workers, immigration, the opportunity of, 134-137
Socialist Party, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Sons of Italy, Order of the, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
South, distribution of immigrants throughout the, 304-307
  industrial conditions in, effect of present immigration law on, 176-177
  slavery in the, effect of, on immigration, 228-230
South Carolina, an experiment tried in, to properly distribute aliens, 305
Southern States, European immigration in, 136, 231
  need for factory laws in, 136
Southern Commercial Congress, purpose of the, 305-306
Smith, Sidney, *The Settler's New Home*, by, quoted, on slavery, 229
Spanish-American War, immigrants since, 267
  immigration bill crowded out of House of Representatives by, 256
Spring tide, lowest point of, of immigration, 98
Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company, president of, quoted, on immigration, 177
Standards of living, American, importance of maintaining the, 191, 320
  undermined by immigration, 350, 352
  of American labor, effects of civic ignorance of aliens on, 186
    and of immigrants compared, 160-169, 267, 268-269, 270-271, 340
  influenced by immigration, 172
  social forces, 184, 185-186, 191
  low, duty of National Government toward protection against, 347
State laws, enacted against importation of cheap labor, 202-203
Statutory offenses, differences in city, compared with rural, 117
Steamship companies, agents of, influence of, on induced immigration, 60, 200, 202
Steamship companies, fines imposed on, by immigration bill, for bringing in illiterate persons, 88-89, 317-318
  fining of, for bringing debarrable aliens, recommended by organized labor, 259, 260-261
  opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Steel mills, fluctuation of alien workers in, 41
Steiner, Professor Edward A., *The Immigrant Tide*, by, quoted, on previous economic condition of immigrants, 153-154
Strikes, caused by immigration, 170
  at Lawrence, 54, 356
  among non-American immigrants, 356
Sweden, immigrants from, year preceding European War, 14
  total immigration and foreign born from, in 1910, 217
Switzerland, emigration from, to U. S., 32-33
Syndicalism, in labor troubles, 356
Syrians, among diseased aliens debarred in 1914, 101

Taft, President, immigration bill vetoed by, 256-257, 273, 351
  Immigration Commission, ignored by, 316
  literacy test in bill vetoed by, 263-264
  veto of, on immigration bill, not based on real objections, 318
  veto message of, on immigration bill, quoted, 275
  votes of House of Representatives and Senate on veto of immigration bill by, 291, 292, 293
Tammany Society, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
Temporary emigration, 1908-1915, 70
  compared to earlier permanent immigration, 83
  months of largest, 70
Temporary immigration, 1908-1915, 70
  amount of, in 1914, 70
  character of, 355-356
  effect of, on emigration to Europe, 74
  effect of literacy test on, 287, 322-323
  months of largest, 69
  no Government record of, prior to 1907, 87

Temporary immigration, percentage of, to permanent immigration, 73
in seasonal arrivals, 69-70
proportion of age, males and females, married and unmarried, in present, 72
volume of, at opening of European War, 71
Teutonic races, decline in immigration of, 217
Tidal forces, effect of, on temporary immigration and emigration, 69, 76-77
Tide basin, of immigration, 98, 205, 220
Tide gates, of immigration, defined, 84
Tide gauge, to measure immigration tide, 207
Trachoma, aliens suffering from, debarred in 1914, 100
Trade unions, formation of, hampered by immigrants, 350
immigration restriction advocated by, 271
Transportation, progress in, effect of, on industrial conditions, 80-81
Transportation companies, immigration law requirements of, 196
Turkey, mixed races in, 22-23
in Asia and Europe, foreign born from, residing in cities, in 1910, 232
immigration from, in 1914, 24
increase of foreign born from, 1900-1910, 339
racial groups in immigration from, 333
Turkish immigration, actual, in 1914, 24
illiteracy in, in 1914, 269-270
Turks, in age group of immigration in 1914, 91
males, in immigration of, 92
in population of Turkey and Asia Minor, 23

Uncinariasis, Japanese and Chinese immigrants afflicted with, 101
Undesirable immigrants, refusal of steamship companies to carry, 90
steamship companies responsible for deportation of, 88-89
Unemployment problem, in winter of 1914, 78-79
Unpopular Review, quoted, on sentimental views on immigration, 48-49
Unrestricted immigration, attitude of employers toward, in the fifties, 194
Unrestricted immigration, opposed by American labor, 186
Unskilled labor, decrease in, by means of literacy test, 322
exclusion of, recommended by Immigration Commission, 257
few Americans among, in entire industries, 271
immigration of, effect of, on standards of living in industries, 181-182
nationalities represented in, in 1914 immigration, 148
over-supply of, 313
present immigration of, solicited, 200
United American Mechanics, Junior Order of, immigration problem stated in circular of, 127
immigration restriction favored by, 260
views of, on immigration's tide-rip, 173
United Kingdom, emigration from, since Battle of Waterloo, 331
United Mine Workers of America, former president of, quoted, on effects of immigration, 170-171
immigration restriction favored by, 259
United Polish Societies, opposed to immigration restriction, 262
United States, aliens early deported from, 235
aliens leaving, in 1914, 354
capital for European War, borrowed in, 329
commercial depression in, effects of, upon emigration from Germany, 31
contract labor excluded from, definition of, 196-197
contributions of Germans to material development of, 138-145
decrease of social horrors in, through immigration regulation, 122
demand of employers in, for cheap labor, 60
earlier immigrants to, affected by slavery, 228-230
economic conditions in, effects of, upon British immigration, 1860-1880, 30
on emigration, 30-31, 33-40, 76-79
on immigration after the war, 335-337
and Governmental regulation of emigration, 338
economic lure of, 39

United States, emigrants, from United Kingdom to, after Battle of Waterloo, 331
farm lands of, rapidly acquired by foreign-born citizens, 278-279
foreign-born population in, census 1910, 211-214
previous to census of 1900 and 1910, 211
German immigrants as music teachers in, 143
immigrants to, annual number of, 228
immigrants ignorant of conditions in, 57
immigration of Chinese into, prohibited, 253
immigration and emigration of Hungarians to and from, 67
immigration to, and foreign born in, comparison between, 214-219
compared to historical dislocation of peoples, 5
due to economic opportunities in, 160
after European revolutionary period, 331-332
after European War, 329-334, 335-340
induced by steamship companies' agents, 202
preceding European War, compared to population of countries represented, 337-340
from Turkey in Europe and Asia, racial groups in, 333
unregulated up to 1875, 249
year preceding European War, 3
immigration tide into, main source of, 13
improved economic status of immigrants in, 162
induced immigrants debarred from, in 1914, 58
immigration, inimical to progress of, 61, 258
information sent from, to emigrants, on slavery, 229
insuring emigrants against rejection at ports of, 45-46
Italian quarters in, congested districts in, 156
large immigration to, from Eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey, 33-34
material sources of, development of, just begun, 337
money deposited in Europe from, up to European War, 162
naturalized citizens of, not "immigrants," 211
United States, news from, on economic conditions in, effects of, on immigration, 31, 32, 57, 201-202
not duty of, to support derelicts from other countries, 320, 346
an opportunity, 138, 161, 190, 279
passage tickets sent from, to immigrants, 57
paupers in, number of foreign born among, year 1850, 130 (note)
permanency of residence in, of recent and earlier immigrants, 63
a political asylum for immigrants, 280
population of, 1890 census, 268
a refuge for aliens, 47, 49-50, 64, 280
requirements for naturalization in, after 1798, 236
separate classes of aliens debarred from the, 254
significance to Slavic peasants of emigration to, 154
Slovaks make fortune in, 67
social and economic environments of immigrants before coming to, 150-159
social forces in, influence of, on standard of living, 191
statistical record of immigration to, beginning of the, 329-330
stimulated immigration injurious to, 61
the supreme duty of, to mankind, 359-360
temporary departures of aliens from, in 1914, 69
Hungarian emigration, effects of, on labor conditions in, 72
total immigration to, compared to population of principal cities of, 5
traditional policy of, toward immigration, 283-299
volume of aliens to, in 1914, due to artificial immigration, 52
well known immigrants to, 139-140, 142-143
white slave traffic in, proportion of Jews in, 132-133
wholesale dispatch of paupers to, in 1833, 129
the world's dumping ground, 261
yearly average of foreign-born arrivals in, since 1905, 6
United States Bureau of Immigration, created in 1864, 245

INDEX

United States Bureau of Immigration, definition of "immigrant" by, compared to "foreign born" by Bureau of the Census, 211
Division of Information in, abolition of, recommended, 259, 260
organization and purpose of, 302-303
reorganization of, advocated, 361
immigrants and emigrants, defined under, 69
inspector of, quoted, on induced immigration, 200-202
no record of emigration kept by, prior to 1908, 74
report of, on immigration agents, 43-46
1914 Report of, quoted, on waves of immigration, 34-35
reports of, on alien illiteracy, compared to census returns of illiteracy among foreign born, 279
United States Bureau of Labor, definitions of immigrant, by, 207-210
report of, on cost of living of Italian and Hungarian immigrants, 166
statistics of, a tide gauge, 207
United States Commission on Industrial Relations, member of, opinion of, on effects of immigration on American labor, 170-173
report of, on increase of "hoboes," 183
United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, attitude of, toward distribution of immigrants, 310-311
1910 Report of, quoted, as to artificial immigration, 57
1914 Report of, on induced immigration, 59
United States Department of Commerce and Labor, consular reports to, on induced emigration, 52
United States Government, amount of money paid to, in head taxes, by immigrants in 1914, 91
attitude of, prior to Civil War, toward unregulated immigration, 245
authority to control immigration vested only in, 203
cost of immigration service to, 92
efforts to exclude foreigners from office under the, 241
United States Government, efforts of, to check stimulated immigration, 61
first restrictve acts of the, on immigration, 249
immigration, prior to Civil War, left by the, to separate states, 246
land policy of, in its effects on native workers, 167
neglect of, toward assimilation of aliens, 357-358
new treaty of, on Chinese immigration, 252
United States Supreme Court, decision of, on authority controlling immigration, 203, 287-288
on head tax levied in New York, 247-248
in 1875, on bonds required from immigrants, 247
in 1915, on anti-alien law of Arizona, 203

Wages, difference in, in U. S. and in foreign countries, 64, 162
economic laws, influence of, on, 164-165, 184
effects of European War on, in Europe, 329, 336
of importation of skilled workers on, 194
of low, in Europe, on unskilled worker, 154-155
machine invention affected by, 185
relation of low economic status of immigrants to, 163-168
rise of, prevented by immigration, 350
Wage earners, proportion of families of, in U. S., earning less than living wage, 349-350
Wales, departing aliens to, percentage of, in 1914, 66
foreign born and total immigration, in 1910, from 217
immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
Warne, Frank J., *The Immigrant Invasion*, by, quoted, 79, 80 163, 179
Washington, famous order of, used by "Native Americanism," 244
Watchorn, Robert, quoted, on present immigration, 88-89, 90
Waterloo, Battle of, emigration from United Kingdom during 25 years after, 331
West, character of emigrants to the Far, in early forties, 81-82

INDEX

West, immigration to the, influenced by slavery, 227-230
and Middle, majority of farms in the, owned by foreign-born immigrants, 278
migration to the, significance of, in nineteenth century, 79-80, 244-245
need for labor in the, 308-310, 323
opportunity of the, for surplus labor population, up to 1893, 167-168
political influences in settlement of the, 227-230
work of immigrants in opening up the, 144
West Indies, immigrants from, year preceding European War, 13
West Virginia, bituminous coal mines of, immigrants drawn into, 225
Whelpley, James D., *The Problem of the Immigrant*, by, 62
Whigs, complaint of, against Irish aliens in spring elections in 1834, 238
reasons for foreigners not joining the, 240-241
White slave traffic, influence of immigration on, 132-133
Widow's pensions, negative influence of increased immigration on, 135
Willcox, Professor Walter F., quoted, on excessive immigration, 321-322
Willcox, Professor Walter F., quoted, on non-uniformity of immigration tide gauge, 207-210
quoted, on popular interpretation of immigrant, 210
Williams, William, at Ellis Island, 1910 report of, on character of present immigration, 323
quoted, on poor examination facilities, 106-107
Wilson, President Woodrow, public hearing on Burnett Immigration bill, before, 125
immigration bill vetoed by, 257, 351
Congressional votes on, 291
diagram of House of Representatives' vote on, 294
votes of members of political parties in House of Representatives on, 297-298
literacy test in bill vetoed by, 263-264
objections of, to immigration restriction, fallacies in, 285-291, 295-299, 326
to literacy test, 283, 284, 285, 286-287
quoted, on racial groups, affected by literacy test, 268
veto message of, on immigration bill, quoted, 279-282
Woolen operatives, importation of in fifties, 194
Workingmen's insurance, influence of increased immigration on, 135

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

REC'D LD
14Oct'63PS
OCT 2 0'63-8 PM

29Nov'64BG
REC'D LD
NOV 2 5 '64-9 AM

SENT ON ILL
NOV 19 1997
U. C. BERKELEY

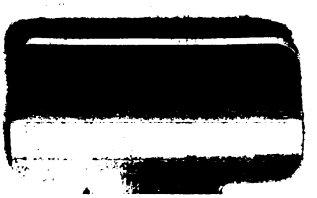
SENT ON ILL
JAN 09 2003
U. C. BERKELEY

LD 21A-50m-8,'61
(C1795s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

22Jan'62SF
REC'D LD
JAN 27 1962
LD 21-50m-8,'32

YB 08896

34526
JV6465
.W3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY